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NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE authorities of the University of Oxford have decided this year to make a departure from their usual policy in regard to summer courses, and to offer advanced courses of the sort which might be of interest to professors and research students from the United States and Canada. The plan is to have these advanced courses cover a different subject each year. In 1924 there will be a vacation course in history for a period of four weeks, beginning from July 28 and divided into two parts of a fortnight each. The subject of the course will be the history of the Middle Ages, with attention to such subsidiary subjects as the economic and ecclesiastical history of the period, and mediaeval political theory. As the course is designed for teachers of history and others who make a serious study of history, applicants are asked to state their qualifications for following such a course with profit. The main idea of the course will be to bring the students into personal contact with representative historical scholars, and to give them a fuller conception of the meaning and scope of serious research. The number of lectures will not be large, nor will they be popular or general in character. It will be an important feature of the course that the lecturers and other leaders of classes in connection with the lectures, will be available for interviews with individual students to give advice on following up their particular lines of study. For further particulars application should be made to the Secretary of the Delegacy for the Extension of Teaching, the Rev. F. E. Hutchinson, M.A., Acland House, Oxford.

The third session of the Queen's University School of Research, conducted at the Canadian Archives at Ottawa, will open on June 18, 1924. In the absence from Canada of Professor McArthur, the school will be under the direction of Professor A. L. Burt, Professor of History in the University of Alberta. Professor Burt has spent several summers in historical research at the Canadian Archives and is thoroughly familiar with the field of Canadian history, and in particular with the manuscript and other sources in the Archives. It has been found that there is such diversity in the subjects being investigated by students in attendance at this school that it is practically impossible to design a course of lectures which would meet the requirements of any large number of students. Last summer the lecture course was abandoned and the attention of the director was given to individual guidance and discussion with the students. Direction has been given as to the extent and character of manuscript and other sources, their relative values as evidence, the order in which various sources should be studied and other questions relating to the use of source materials. It is proposed that this method shall be adopted this summer. Students interested are invited to communicate with Professor Burt, at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

In a paper on *The bibliography of Canadiana* in the last number of this REVIEW reference was made to the *Subject catalogue or finding list of the Toronto Public Library* issued in 1888, and to the *Catalogue of Canadian books during 1922-23*, issued by the same library and intended to be made an annual publication. Mention, however, was omitted of a pamphlet brought out by the Toronto Public Library during the war, entitled *Books and pamphlets published in Canada up to the year 1837, copies of which are in the Public Reference Library, Toronto, Canada* (Toronto, 1916). This is the first of what it is hoped will be a series of contributions to Canadian bibliography issued by the Reference Department of the Toronto Public Library; and there has now come from the press a second volume in this series entitled *The Rebellion of 1837-38: A bibliography of the sources of information in the Public Reference Library of the City of Toronto, Canada* (Toronto, 1924). It need hardly be said that these publications are of the greatest importance to Canadian bibliographers and historians. The Toronto Public Library contains a collection of *Canadiana* almost unrivalled; and while these lists which it has

published are Library catalogues, rather than studies in bibliography, they describe resources of such an exceptional character that their value to the bibliographer would be difficult to exaggerate. Especially for the province of Ontario, which has hitherto been notably lacking in bibliographies, these lists and those which are to follow them will fill a yawning gap.

The first paper in this number of the REVIEW is a statement of the aims and needs of the British Institute of International Affairs, which the Board of Editors take pleasure in placing before the readers of these pages. The second article, *Some notes on the fate of the Acadians*, is by Captain Charles E. Lart, who has been making investigations in the French provincial archives, and who presents in his paper some new materials with regard to an episode in Canadian history which has always attracted interest. The paper on *Canadian Civil Services before Confederation* is by Professor R. MacGregor Dawson, the author of *The Principle of Official Independence*, an admirable study of Canadian government reviewed by us in 1923. Under the heading of *Notes and Documents* we publish a letter of John Langton, the first auditor-general of Canada, with regard to the early history of higher education in Ontario; and a hitherto unpublished document of Louis Riel, in which Riel describes the capture of Fort Garry in 1870. The latter document is edited by Mr. A. H. de Trémaudan of Manitoba, with some of whose work our readers are already familiar.

THE BRITISH INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

IT is probable that few Canadians had ever heard of the British Institute of International Affairs when last November the cables carried the announcement that two Canadians, Colonel and Mrs. R. W. Leonard, of St. Catharines, Ontario, had presented to the Institute as a permanent home a beautiful old house in St. James's Square, London, now known as Chatham House, which has been the residence of no less than three British prime ministers, Chatham, Derby, and Gladstone. Yet, apart from the interest which Canadians might be expected to feel in the Institute on account of Colonel and Mrs. Leonard's generous gift, the Institute itself is so significant a development, and has such vital importance for every part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, that no apology should be needed for giving an account here of its work and its aims.

It was at Paris, during the Peace Conference, that the conception of the Institute originated. The war had brought home sufficiently the terrible consequences of ignorance or neglect, on the part of the peoples of the world, of their relations with each other. The difficulties of the treaties taught the same lesson. It was soon apparent that the issues of the Conference would be settled less by the views of the statesmen assembled at Paris than by public opinion in the countries from which they came. And it was clear that, as time went on, governments in their conduct of foreign affairs would come to rely more and more on the support of their nations. The creation of an informed public opinion on international affairs was thus one of the prime needs of the future. The authorities competent to help in forming such opinion are few: they are usually experts in one small area of the field; and the materials for general study by the publicist or politician are so vast and often so forbidding in form as to be in practice inaccessible. Here, then, was an imperative call for a society or institution which would undertake the diffusion of knowledge on foreign relations.

To meet that call the circumstances provided a unique opportunity. At Paris there were collected, in the delegations from Britain and its Dominions, men of the most varied callings and experience, all of them able to contribute first-hand knowledge of some phase in the conduct of foreign affairs. By the constant interchange of knowledge and ideas they gained a wider insight, not only into the general principles, but into the practical difficulties of international studies. As the time approached for them to return to their ordinary occupations, it was felt that the interest which had been thus awakened and the experience that had been gained ought not to be lost, and that their co-operation should continue. By their exertions the Institute was founded.

It was formally inaugurated on July 5, 1920, at a meeting presided over by Lord Robert Cecil. Lord Grey of Fallodon was the chief speaker, supported by Mr. Clynes and Mr. Balfour. Its objects were defined as being—

to encourage and facilitate the study of international questions, to promote the exchange of information and thought on international affairs, with a view to the creation of better informed opinion, and to publish or arrange for the publication of works with these objects.

In selecting members, regard was to be had—

solely to the qualifications possessed by candidates (who must, of course, be British subjects) as persons able to contribute to the knowledge or thought of the Institute in respect of international affairs.

The annual subscription was fixed at two guineas, on the ground that a heavier subscription would exclude many whose special knowledge is indispensable to the work of the association.

For over three and a half years the Institute has now been at work, and by its results it is ready to be judged. Its membership is nearly a thousand, comprising the larger number of the leading authorities on foreign affairs; it has worked so far chiefly by arranging debates and discussions, at which those who are specially interested in any particular problem are brought together and, with the freedom given by privacy, interchange their knowledge. It publishes every two months a journal containing a selection of the papers read at the meetings, and, by arrangement with the Empire Parliamentary Association, a very valuable bi-monthly report on foreign affairs is also circulated to members. Under its auspices (with Mr. H. W. V. Temperley as editor) has been published a *History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, which

is now complete and consists of six volumes and will perpetuate, as no other work in any language does, essential and authoritative information regarding matters of the highest importance to the whole world. At the Institute also is domiciled the *British Year Book of International Law*.

Such are the present activities of the Institute; but its field of work should be much wider if it is to fulfil its purposes. It has been limited by its accommodation and its income. The former need has been remedied: the generous gift by Colonel and Mrs. R. W. Leonard has provided the Institute with a convenient and appropriate home. The house is now being adapted to its new uses, and Sir John Power, the Honorary Treasurer of the Institute, has given £10,000 for the erection of an adequate meeting hall behind the house. The time has, therefore, come to take stock of the resources of the Institute and of the work that lies before it. Without departing from the high level of qualification, no large extension of the membership is practicable; and for reasons already indicated, the subscription should not be raised. The income is, and will be, most carefully administered by a competent finance committee; but it must be substantially increased. In accepting the gift of Chatham House on behalf of the British Commonwealth, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, the Visitor of the Institute, said—

The donors have recognised that in order to establish an Imperial School of foreign affairs on an adequate basis, an ample endowment will have to be raised. To that end they have given the Trustees not only the freehold of this building, but a cheque for £8,000 in addition as the nucleus of an endowment fund. They look with confidence to the rest of the Empire to complete the work, and they will not, I trust, look in vain.

It now remains to explain for what purposes an endowment is required, in order to secure the full usefulness and the wide outlook at which the Institute aims.

In the first place, the material of his study must be made available to the *bona fide* student of international affairs. On no subject is it so difficult to obtain ready access to the essential facts. Some of these facts are and will probably always remain hidden, but in truth they are the smallest part. The secrets of the Chanceries are very small; the essential facts, the main stages in every controversy, are published. The real difficulty experienced by those who want to become acquainted with the course of events is the enormous mass of material which is available.

None but those who have ample leisure and resources can possibly find their way through the official documents, the newspaper reports, the parliamentary debates, the books and pamphlets, and the authoritative maps. Not only, therefore, is there the need for a thoroughly-equipped technical library and map-room, but also for a staff capable of assisting enquirers in their search for the proper documents. Initial expenditure is required, as well as capital to provide the recurring charges; and the initial outlay must be considerable, because a technical library begins to be useful only when students find that its shelves provide what they seek.

In the second place, it is desired to continue the work of published records which was begun by the *History of the Peace Conference of Paris*. The intention is to produce an annual survey of foreign affairs in which, with the smallest expenditure of time, the reader may find an authoritative and impartial statement of what in fact happened, together with a list of the essential documents. It is certain that in the past the want of some such work of reference has been a grave defect. It is hoped to begin the compilation of such a work immediately, so that the first volume may be issued at the end of 1924. In addition, it is clearly necessary to publish an intermediary volume or volumes summing up the events which have taken place since the conclusion of the peace settlement. If the annual survey is to meet the need which exists for it, it can hardly in modern conditions be self-supporting; for it must be published at a moderate price, while competent contributors and an editor must be paid. It is proposed also, if funds allow, to bring out monographs in pamphlet form explaining the facts connected with definite international problems as they arise.

In the third place, it is most desirable to continue and increase the assistance now given to the *British Year Book of International Law*. The *Year Book* was started in 1920 and was affiliated to the Institute in 1921. The war had shown that there was a wide misconception of the true nature and function of international law, and had also shown the urgent need of a British periodical for the publication of articles in which clear and constructive thought could be applied to the various international law problems of the day. Unfortunately the public to which such a periodical appeals is small, and until the general interest is more widely aroused, help from the Institute is very necessary. The Institute aspires, indeed, to do in Great Britain what the

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace does in the United States.

In the fourth place, much has to be done in bringing the work of the Institute to the help of the wider public, both in Great Britain and in the British Dominions overseas. The Institute has been founded as a school of international affairs for the British Commonwealth as a whole, a conception emphasized in the terms upon which Chatham House was dedicated to its use by Colonel and Mrs. Leonard. Its members, wherever stationed, can gather for mutual intercourse in the rooms of Chatham House when they are in London. But throughout the Empire overseas touch can best be maintained by the establishment of branches, which the Mother Institute would feed with materials and periodical information. In the British Isles themselves assistance could be given to local effort and educational organisations by paying the expenses of qualified lecturers.

Other fields of profitable activity will open out as the Institute grows in experience; the foregoing indicate the sphere which it hopes to occupy as funds permit. In conclusion, a word is necessary as to its attitude to party politics. From the outset, one of its cardinal rules has run thus:—The Institute, as such, shall not express an opinion on any aspect of international affairs. That rule will be rigorously maintained. The hope is to secure that every party, every school of political thought, every calling connected with foreign affairs, should be represented in its membership, as well as every country of the Commonwealth. The function of the Institute in its corporate capacity is to render the uncoloured facts of foreign affairs accessible to its members and through them to the public. It has no propaganda, it encourages no partisanship. Its aim is to promote truth and understanding, in the hope that by truth and understanding the cause of peace may be promoted.

The Institute has thus no hesitation in appealing for an endowment fund, not only to the people of Great Britain, but to the British Commonwealth as a whole. The continuity and sincerity of the work are guaranteed by the fact that H.R.H. the Prince of Wales is Visitor of the Institute, by the personality of its Presidents, and by the consent of the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and the Dominions and the Viceroy of India to serve as Honorary Presidents. The imprimatur under which this appeal issues bears the testimony of those statesmen to the value of the Institute and its programme; and it is trusted that the

imperial importance of the work will be recognised by gifts sufficient to establish it on a permanent basis. Gifts may be either for the general endowment or earmarked, if the donor so desires, for some of the particular projects enumerated above.

* * *

NOTES ON THE FATE OF THE ACADIANS

MUCH has been written about the expatriation of the "Acadian neutrals" in 1755, and about the causes of that unhappy episode and the possibility of its justification. But obscurity still lingers over some phases of the story of the Acadians, and particularly over the details of their fate in exile. The following documents, extracted mainly from the French Archives, throw some light on this point, and are here reproduced as a slight contribution to the history of the Acadians' "years in the wilderness."

In the archives of the department of *Affaires étrangères* at Paris is a "Mémoire sur les Acadiens ou François neutres"¹ which recounts their story in brief:

Les François neutres étoient établis sur La Rivière Annapolis où ils Formoient une peuplade d'environ 3,000 Familles. Ils furent cédés aux Anglais par Le Traité d'Utrecht, et conservèrent leurs eglises, leur Prêtres, et Le Libre exercice de leur Religion. Au milieu des anglois ils persistèrent dans une attachement inviolable pour la France et pour leur Religion et ce Fut La cause de leur ruine et de tous les maux qu'ils ont Souffert depuis ce tems.

Ils refusèrent de prêter Le Serment qu'on exigeoit d'eux parce que ce Serment attaquoit Leur Religion. Les anglais Les Traitèrent de seditieux, et se servirent de ce Prétexte pour exercer des cruautés dont L'Humanité rougit contre les hommes dont l'attachement à La Patrie et à La Religion faisoit tout de crime.

Le Gouverneur Anglois força Les Acadiens d'abandonner Leurs biens et sans en prévenir Les autres gouverneurs il les fit embarquer au nombre de plus que 6,000 et transporter dans les colonies Angloises.

Quinze cent débarquèrent à la Virginie: on Les traita comme Prisonniers de guerre et on Les renvoya peu après en Europe. Ils arrivèrent en Angleterre et y perirent presque tous de misère et de chagrin. 300 abordèrent à Bristol, ils y passèrent trois jours et

¹Affaires Etrangères: Mémoires et Documents (1763-1805), No. 47.

trois nuits sur les quais: on les renferma ensuite dans quelques édifices ruinés où la petite vérole acheva de détruire ceux qui n'avoient pas succombé à la fatigue et au desespoir.¹

Douze cent arrivèrent au Maryland où ils n'éprouvèrent un traitement plus heureux. Un troisième détachement aborda à la Caroline. On refusa de les y recevoir: on leur donna deux vieux vaisseaux, un peu de mauvaises provisions. Embarqué sur ces batiments qui faisoient eau de toutes parts ils échouèrent bientôt sur les côtes de la Virginie. On refusa de les y recevoir et on les Força de se depouiller du peu qui leur restoit pour acheter un bâtiment beaucoup plus mauvais que ceux dans les quels ils avoient été sur le point de Périr: ils firent voile et avec bien des difficultés parvinrent à Le faire échouer sur les côtes du Maryland. Ils passèrent deux mois sur une côte deserte: ils réparèrent leur bâtiment et se remirent en mer pour La 3me fois: ils arrivèrent à La Baye Française, au nombre de 900, reste infortuné de plus de 2,000.

Le quatrième Transport, destiné pour la Virginie, eut moins à souffrir que ceux dont on vient de parler: une tempête engloutit Leur bâtiment et mit fin aux misères qui Les attendoient.

Il y a actuellement 786 acadiens, tant hommes que femmes et enfans, en divers endroits d'Angleterre.

Les promesses, la ruse, Les menaces même qui leur ont été faites n'ont pu les ébranler: ils conservent toujours L'amour pour leur Roy, Leur Patrie, et rien ne peut ralentir leur zèle pour la vraie Religion. Ils n'aspirent qu'au moment heureux qui les remettra en France: il se sont ouverts à Monsieur Le Duc de Nivernois, ils ont imploré sa protection, il La leur a promise, et La joie s'est répandue dans toutes les familles.

Lors qu'on leur annonça que Monsieur Le Duc de Nivernois touché de leurs malheurs, et sûr de leur zèle pour le Roy, en avoit instruit Sa Majesté, et qu'ils pouvoient compter qu'à la Paix sa Majesté Les recompenseroit comme des bons et fidèles sujets, ils ne purent contenir leur joye. Les cris de *Vive Le Roy* éclatèrent au point que quelques anglois en furent scandalisés; Les Larmes succédèrent à ces premières acclamations et tous hommes, femmes, enfans disoient en pleurant d'allegresse *Dieu benisse notre Bon Roy*.
This document is preceded by a copy of instructions to M. de la

¹A similar outbreak of disease took place at St Malo and St Servan in January, 1759, among the Acadians who arrived in France from Louisbourg and Isle St. Jean: 42 deaths being registered in that month (G. G. Arch. Municipales: Règ. des Paroisses).

Rochette, dated May, 1763, as to the transport of the Acadians at Bristol, Falmouth, Southampton, Penhryn, Liverpool, and Plymouth from these towns to France. They were landed at Morlaix on June 23, 1763, and appear from the number of marriages and baptisms recorded there, to have remained some months before being transferred to Belle Isle.

A long memoir follows, dated June, 1778, giving details of the French settlements in North America; and some interesting information is contained in it concerning the Acadians. Crime had been unknown among them, it is stated, for forty years: they had had no recourse to judges, since they did not acknowledge the English courts: all disputes were settled by the Councils of Elders: the settlements were policed by "l'autorité paternelle." The memoir states that when Louis XIV ceded Acadia to England, the Acadians were given two years in which to choose whether they would remain or return to France. They elected to remain, but never acknowledged the supremacy of England. They acknowledged English authority over their goods, but not over their persons, always considering themselves subjects of the king of France. Hence the term applied to them—*François Neutres*.

Such a state of things was admirable in some respects, from a social point of view, but it could hardly be considered so from the national standpoint. To have a foot in both camps, to live under English protection and on English soil, while at the same time professing allegiance to the French king, was a course on the part of the Acadians which hardly commended itself to the English government. It is permissible to doubt whether it would have commended itself to the French government of the day, if the conditions had been reversed.

As might be expected, some of the statements in the memoir do not tally with the English evidence. It is probable that the writer of it, whose name is not given, did not know that Governor Lawrence did, as a matter of fact, circularize the governors of the British colonies in North America. This circular letter, which is dated from Halifax, August 11, 1755,¹ begins by setting forth the whole situation: the refusal of the habitants to take the oath of allegiance within *one* year from the Treaty of Utrecht: the fact that they pretended neutrality, but continually furnished French and Indians with intelligence, quarters, provisions, and

¹Nova Scotia Documents: N.S. Archives: Letter-books of the governor.

assistance in annoying the government, "and while one part have abetted the French encroachments by their treachery, the others have countenanced them by open Rebellion, and 300 of them were actually found in arms in the French Fort at Beau-séjour when it surrendered." "In spite of their former behaviour, those who did not actually bear arms against us were offered a continuance of the Possession of their lands, if they would take the Oath of Allegiance, unqualified with any Reservation whatsoever, but this they have most audaciously as well as unanimously refused." The letter goes on to point out that if they presumed to do this with a large English fleet in harbour and a considerable number of troops in the province, anything might have been expected from them when winter deprived the authorities of the fleet, and the troops, only hired for a short time from New England, returned home.

The Council therefore deliberated on the best means of dealing with the situation, and since the Acadians numbered nearly 7,000 persons, it was deemed inadvisable to allow them to go whither they pleased, since they would doubtless strengthen French Canada, and as no cleared land was available for them at once, such as were able to bear arms would be immediately employed in annoying Nova Scotia and the neighbouring colonies. It was consequently thought advisable to divide them into detachments and distribute them among the different colonies, since, being for the most part healthy and strong, they might be of use, and "it is possible, in time, faithful subjects."

So much for the allegation that the other colonies were not warned.

There is in the Nova Scotia archives a long list of ships provided for the transport of the Acadians to the other colonies in 1755-56, with instructions as to the number of persons to be embarked on each—two per ton, the tonnage to be ascertained by the charter parties—and as to the quantity of provisions allowed per head. A letter from Governor Lawrence to the Board of Trade (Halifax, October 18, 1755) states that, in order to lessen the cost of the transportation, the vessels taken up for the purpose were most of them bound to the places where the Acadians were to be sent, and so were hired more cheaply than would ordinarily have been the case. So far as can be seen, all possible preparation was made.

Some light on the statement that the party which reached Carolina were refused permission to stay, being given two old

ships on which they embarked, may possibly be thrown by a letter of the Board of Trade to Lawrence (March 10, 1757),¹ which runs as follows: "As to the conduct of the Southern Colonies in permitting those who were removed to coast along from one Province to another in order that they might get back to Nova Scotia nothing could have been more absurd and blameable, and had not the governors of New York and Massachusetts Bay prudently stopped them, there is no attempt however desperate and cruel which might not have been expected from Persons exasperated as they must have been by the treatment they had met with." A circular letter to governors on the Continent (dated from Halifax, July 1, 1756) had already been sent dealing with the same matter: "Sir, I am well informed that many of the French inhabitants transported last year from this Province, & distributed among the different colonies upon the Continent, have procured small vessels and embarked on board them in order to return by coasting from Colony to Colony, and that several of them are now actually on the way."

As regards the means taken to induce the Acadians to obey, promises, ruses, and threats were no doubt made use of. In 1822 an old woman, who had left Acadia as a child, thus related her experiences at the time:

Les anglais s'étant rendus maîtres de notre pays, voulurent nous faire abandonner notre religion, pour prendre la leur; mais nous ne voulûmes pas. Ils nous menacèrent de la mort et nous répondîmes que nous aimions mieux mourir. Alors on nous fit mettre tous en rang devant des canons chargés à mitraille. Nous étions à genoux, prosternés la face contre terre et offrant notre vie à Dieu en attendant qu'on mit le feu aux canons. Je n'avais que neuf ans et j'étais aussi prosternée à côté de mes parents. Mais, tout à coup, les anglais changèrent d'idée; ils nous prirent tout notre bien et nos effets, et ne nous laissèrent que quelques haillons pour nous couvrir.²

Fortunately these dreadful consequences did not ensue. Winslow had his explicit orders to embark the Acadians, and that he intended to massacre them is open to the gravest doubt.

When we come to the mention of 786 Acadians in England, we touch the chief interest of this memoir: for these were the 78 families established at Belle Isle off the coast of Brittany, in

¹N. Scotia Archives: Papers relating to the Acadians (1714-1755).

²Le R. P. Rigaud, *Vie de la soeur Elizabeth*, p. 10.

the four parishes of Bangor, Le Palais, Lauzon, and Lolmaria, in the year 1765.¹

An Arrêt de la Cour, January 12, 1767, decreed that since all the registers of baptisms, marriages, and deaths of the parishes in Acadia had been destroyed "dans la persecution des Anglais," it was necessary to reconstitute "autant qu'il était possible les filiations des ces infortunés fugitifs," and a commission was accordingly set up in each parish in Belle Isle, presided over by the rector, the Abbé Le Loutre, formerly vicar-general of Quebec, who had accompanied them to France, the "Procureur du Roy", and three witnesses, "tous acadiens." These checked the depositions made by the heads of families, who produced, either from memory or from written accounts, their genealogies. These depositions are so precise, in giving the date of practically all marriages, baptisms, and deaths, that it seems likely that some written evidence was produced.

These registers, two for each parish, an original and duplicate, are prefaced by a declaration by the Abbé Le Loutre, giving a brief account of the events which had led to the settlement:

M. l'abbé Le Loutre, ancien vicaire général du diocèse de Québec au Canada, a déclaré que les Acadiens placés en cette Isle ont été transportés des Anglais, à Boston et autres Colonies Anglaises au mois d'Octobre 1755; que de ces colonies anglaises ils ont été transférés en la vieille Angleterre et dispersés en divers endroits du royaume dans l'année 1756: qu'en 1763, après la traité de Paix, ils ont été transportés en France par les gabarres du Roy, et placés en differents ports de mer, et qu'en 1765, dans le courant du mois d'Octobre, ils ont passé en cette Ile par ordre de Mgr Le Duc de Choiseul, Ministre de la Marine.

S. M. Le Loutre, prêtre missionaire

2 Mars 1766.

The towns in England to which the exiles were sent were Bristol, Falmouth, Southampton, Plymouth, Liverpool, and Penhryn.

A large number of births, marriages, and deaths took place during the sojourn in England, many of the latter taking place soon after arrival, as a result of the hardships of the voyage, and perhaps of the smallpox. A few are recorded as taking place in the North American colonies.

There is abundant evidence in these recorded genealogies to

¹Canada Français, 1888: Arch. Morbihan. C.

dispose of the legend that families were wilfully separated, and sent to different colonies, for the entry is constantly occurring of the head of a family passing "with his family" to one or other of the colonies. What did probably happen was that families became separated during the voyage, some members being on one vessel and some on another, bound for the same port,

The chief ports in France in which the refugees lived till arrangements were made for their settlement, were Cherbourg, Morlaix, St Malo, Brest, and La Rochelle.

A large amount of correspondence exists in the archives¹ dealing with the Acadians at Cherbourg, and arrangements for dealing with them; especially with reference to a scheme for a settlement in Poitou, on the estates of the Marquis de Pérusse, where ultimately, in 1773, about 1,400 arrived.

The number of families is given as 300, but since the average number of children to a family is quite 10, and the number of houses built was 150, the rule being a house to a family, it is probable that only 150 families were sent.

There were 78 families at Belle Isle, and 78 houses were built for them; and land, stock, and implements were provided. This was largely due to the activity of Le Loutre, who personally saw the king at Versailles. Each head of a family received a horse, a cow, three sheep, and four hundred livres for preliminary expenses.

All the Acadians were to enjoy their concessions free of taxes till 1768.

The land being held in fief from the Marquis de Belle Isle, manorial dues and customs had to be paid. All had to share in "aydes et corvées," according to the custom of the province, and to provide "charrois" for repairing the mills, and other seigniorial buildings; to load vessels with grain in their turn and rank when required, without claim for provender for man or beast; and in case of refusal or non-compliance, to pay three livres a day in the case of "charrois," and ten sols a day for "corvée à bras," "à celui qui aura travaillé à sa place."

On the estates of the Marquis de Pérusse in Poitou, the Acadians were exempt from all taxation for thirty years, in "tailles, capitations, vingtièmes, industries et autres impositions territoriales," but not from other taxes—and the number of "impositions" was legion.

¹Calvados. C. 1019-1020.

Numbers of Acadians stayed in the ports to which they had been sent, not only from England, but from Louisbourg and other places ceded to England. Prisoners of Louisbourg were sent to Nantes in 1747; the inhabitants of Isle Royale to St Malo in March, 1758, and to Brest in September of that year; and in January, 1759, more arrived at St Malo.¹

Many of these became corsairs, especially those who had previously manned the vessels which had gone out from Plaisance in Newfoundland, and from Louisbourg, both ports of armament and corsair bases, under the governors of Acadie and Isle Royale. Their knowledge of the coasts was invaluable to the French government, and when war again broke out in 1778, they flocked into the corsair fleets, though by doing so they were aiding the New Englanders, who even more than the English government, had been their bitterest enemies. Some of them rose to eminence, and gained a reputation in this kind of warfare. Such was Jean-Baptiste Hébert, of the *Epervoir* of Morlaix, whose prizes were valued at 208,591 livres. His exploits on the *Canadien*, a small vessel of six guns, are not so well known as they deserve to be.

The greater part, however, subsisted on doles from the government, pending schemes of settlement which never materialized. In 1772, nine years after their arrival in France, a deputation from 600 families, representing, at least, 2,500 persons, waited on the king at Compiègne to lay their grievances before him.

In 1779, the number of Acadians in St Malo is said to have sensibly diminished, owing to the large number of men who had entered the corsair fleets.²

None of the settlements—neither that of Belle Isle, nor other smaller ones in Champagne, the Landes, Limousin, Corsica, and Louisiana, nor that at Monthoiron in Poitou, by far the largest—succeeded. The first payments in Belle Isle became due on October 30, 1768. The colonists refused to pay, claiming that they were overcharged. Some misunderstanding also seems to have arisen as to the actual date when they became due. The original agreement was that they were exempted from King's taxes for five years from date of settlement, and a memoir of 1787 states that the exemption ceased in 1769.³ Circumstances, however, were all against them. It must have been irksome to a people

¹Under the term "Acadian" are included all who came to France from Nova Scotia and the French settlements generally. (Finistère. B. Amirauté, P. LXV).

²Archives du Commissariat de la Marine de St Servan (C. 7-9).

³L. Legallen, *Histoire de Belle Isle*.

born and bred in patriarchal freedom, among the forests and meadows of Acadia, to be set down in the France of the eighteenth century, crushed by taxes—from which the clergy and nobility were exempt—and by seigniorial burdens. Lack of sympathy, hostility of their neighbours, who resented their intrusion, bad management on the part of those responsible for their settlement, but probably above all the character and habits of the Acadians themselves, all contributed to their lack of success: while the government withdrew all support in the year 1775, when the colony began to break up.

To add to the difficulties of the colonists the soil of the island was poor and barren: it is so windswept that no trees can grow on it. The original inhabitants numbered 375 families and resented the fresh influx of new settlers. It is probable, too, that the government found them more of a burden than a help, and from the first made use of them to exploit unprofitable lands. None of the settlements lasted for more than fifteen years, and with the exception of a small body of Acadians who left France and went to Corsica, the bulk of them voluntarily returned to North America.

The colony at Monthoiron, near Chatellérault, was numbered in 1791 at 98 persons claiming help from the government under the law of February 25, 1791, and a few Acadian surnames still linger in the district. This colony had ceased to exist by 1787, in its original state. The descendants of these Acadians are still called "les Américains," chiefly in the communes of Monthoiron, La Purge, and Archigny, and houses are still to be found called "l'Acadie", "Belle Américaine", "René Merle", "Romain de l'Angle". In 1862 they were noted for their good behaviour and honesty of character, and their strict observance of Sunday.¹

The charges brought against the "Neutres" in the circular letter of August 11, 1755, would seem to have been not without some foundation.

Among the documents in the archives of Calvados is a memoir by Faucy, commissaire de la marine at Cherbourg in 1774.² This memoir gives the history of Joseph Bellefontaine, surnamed "Beauséjour", son of Gabriel Bellefontaine, according to Faucy, "le premier sujet du Roy de France qui soit né dans cette colonie, en 1697":

¹Société des Antiq: de l'ouest (1908). Archives Communales de Chatellérault.

²Archives. Calvados, C. 1020.

Memoire pour le Sieur Joseph Bellefontaine, dit Beausejour, major de toutes les milices de la Rivière St Jean en accadie, qui fait connaître l'état opulent et florissant dont il y jouissoit, les actes de générosité et de desintéressement que son zèle pour le service du Roy lui a fait exercer pour entretenir les sauvages dans le parti français: les malheurs qu'il a essayés par les faits de la dernière guerre et par sa fidélité pour son Prince, et la triste situation où il se trouve réduit depuis qu'il est en France résidant à Cherbourg.

Lorsque M^r de Villebon, sous le regne de Louis Quatorze fit construire pour le Roy le fort qui a porté son nom dans le haut de la Rivière St Jean, a 25 lieues de son embouchure en Accadie, il y fit passer des colons des autres cantons de cette province, déjà habités par des Français. Le sieur Gabriel Bellefontaine, officier des vaisseaux du Roy en Canada, et Angélique Robertjeanne furent de ce nombre.

The memoir goes on to state the good services of Gabriel Bellefontaine, and his commerce with the "sauvages": how he had learned their language, and when the canton had become a little larger had founded the parish called Ste Anne. The progress of the colony with the Indians is mentioned, and Faucy notes that Bellefontaine was one of the foremost among them in stirring up hatred against the English.

In the attack by the English in 1758, Joseph Bellefontaine and his family were especially badly treated. Bellefontaine gives the reason himself—that his special "malheurs" were incurred by the knowledge on the part of the English "que c'était lui qui par ses discours et par ses largesses avoit fomenté et toujours entretenu les sauvages en haine et en guerre contre les anglois."¹

Bellefontaine was not the only one who advanced a claim for services rendered, on the same grounds.

None of these claims appear to have elicited any response from the French king. The Entremont family were still petitioning up to the time of the Revolution.

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¹Correspondence (1774-75): Acadiens. Archives Départementales. Calvados. C. 1020.

CANADIAN CIVIL SERVICES BEFORE CONFEDERATION

THE *British North America Act* of 1867 incorporated and centralized the most important functions of the component colonial governments, and it naturally brought the majority of the civil servants under the federation. This was the legal beginning of the Canadian civil service, and around this nucleus the new administration was formed. The old colonial services, however, brought, in addition to their personnel, certain traditions and customs which they passed on to their successor, and which have influenced enormously subsequent Canadian history. The idea of office as a reward for political service, the custom of interpreting civil service tenure as one "during good behaviour" and not "at pleasure," the understanding that political activity on the part of civil servants meant loss of office if the other party were returned,—these were a part of the inheritance which the Dominion received from the colonial governments. It is, therefore, a matter of some interest to investigate the circumstances under which these customs arose and to discover how firmly they were established at the time of Confederation.

The formative period of the civil service was broadly coincident with the winning of responsible government: it was one phase of the confused struggle which culminated in colonial home rule. Any discussion of these conditions naturally stresses the lack of executive and legislative co-operation, and omits or slurs over the equal confusion existing within the administration. Before responsible government any organization of the civil service, such as we have to-day, was unknown. In the first place, in accordance with the precedent set in the American colonies before the Revolution, part of the administration was controlled by the governor and his supporters, part by the Assembly. The officers of the Crown were not given a representative character even in theory, and unpopularity was a real recommendation for appointment at the hands of the governor. "The principal officers of the local government," wrote Lord Glenelg in 1835,

"have frequently unpopular duties to perform; they are not seldom called to oppose the passions and emotions of the day; and, for the permanent well-being of society, to brave the displeasure of the popular leaders. . . . I will not allow myself to suppose that, on this subject [pensions] any difference of opinion can arise between the executive government and the representatives of the Canadian people."¹ Lord Durham was even more emphatic: "The Assembly. . . . could exercise no influence on the nomination of a single servant of the Crown. The Executive Council, the law officers, and whatever heads of departments are known to the administrative system of the Province, were placed in power, without any regard to the wishes of the people or their representatives; nor indeed are there wanting instances in which a mere hostility to the majority of the Assembly elevated the most incompetent persons to posts of honour and trust."²

The administration appointed by the Assembly was of minor importance, but in expending the moneys voted by the popular body it made no pretence at co-operation with the executive. Had the Crown not enjoyed an independent revenue, the Assembly's control would undoubtedly have extended over the entire field; but they were limited for the most part to expenditures on public works, and this gave them a patronage which they used without scruple. Eight hundred and fifty commissioners were appointed in Nova Scotia to pay out £10,000 on local improvements. In Lower Canada £25,000 a year was spent on education, and a large proportion of the teachers appointed could neither read nor write.³

Another cause of disorganization lay within the Council itself. No member of that body assumed political responsibility for the work of any department. The Council advised as a whole, and the civil service was not subject to the supervision of any special political officer. "There is," said Lord Durham, "no head of any of the most important departments of public business in the Colony. The limited powers of the local government in a Colony necessarily obviate the necessity of any provision for some of the most important departments which elsewhere require a

¹Lord Glenelg to the Commissioners in Lower Canada, July 17, 1835 (*Brit. H. of C. Papers*, 113, XXXIX, 1836, pp. 7-9).

²Lucas, *Lord Durham's Report*, II, p. 77. Cf. Petition of House of Assembly (Lower Canada) to the House of Commons, December, 1834 (*Brit. H. of C. Papers*, 113, XXXIX 1836, p. 22).

³Lucas, *Lord Durham's Report*, II, pp. 93-96.

superintending mind. But the mere ordinary administration of justice, police, education, public works and internal communications, of finance and of trade, would require the superintendence of persons competent to advise the Governor, on their own responsibility, as to the measures which should be adopted. . . . Yet, of no one of these departments is there any responsible head, by whose advice the Governor may safely be guided. There are some subordinate and very capable officers in each department, from whom he is, in fact, compelled to get information from time to time. But there is no one to whom he, or the public, can look for the correct management and sound decision on the policy of each of these important departments. . . . There is no division into departments in the Council, there is no individual responsibility, and no individual superintendence. Each member of the Council takes an equal part in all the business brought before it."¹

During the transition to responsible government the relations of cabinet and civil service were even more confused. In Nova Scotia in 1847, for example, two heads of departments were in both the Executive Council and the legislature, others were not in either body, while the Council also contained some men who held no other office whatever.² The career of Dominick Daly, "the permanent secretary, the Vicar of Bray of Canadian politics," is most instructive on this point: he combined a political office with a permanent tenure. He began as provincial secretary of Lower Canada in 1827, an office which he held until the Union. Lord Sydenham retained him as provincial secretary for Canada. He remained in that position under the first Baldwin-Lafontaine government, and in the dispute between Sir Charles Metcalfe and the cabinet he remained in office after nine ministers resigned. For sixteen days he was sole minister, and for nine months was one of three. Later when a genuine government was formed under Draper, he continued as provincial secretary. In 1847 the Draper government attempted to strengthen itself by including several French Canadians, but they declined to come in unless Daly went out. He refused to leave; and the French Canadians remained outside the cabinet. In the reorganization of May, 1847, Daly still kept his post, and it was not until the formation of the second Baldwin-Lafontaine ministry that he

¹*Ibid.*, II. pp. 108-110.

²Letter to Sir John Harvey from his Executive Council, January 30, 1847 (*Brit. H. of C. Papers*, 621, XLII, 1847-48, p. 65).

finally resigned. The imperial government took pity on him and made him an imperial civil servant as commissioner of Tobago, and later governor of Tobago, Prince Edward Island, and South Australia successively.

The struggle for responsible government found expression in the civil service in the struggle over the right of patronage. The offices controlled by the Assembly were comparatively unimportant, as all the highest positions were at the disposal of the governor. In this task the governor was generously assisted by the Family Compact groups, consisting of the colonial bureaucracy, who naturally recommended those who were sympathetic towards the governing class. Lord Durham describes the conditions of patronage existing in the two Canadas in 1838:

For a long time this body of men [the Family Compact], receiving at times accessions to its numbers, possessed almost all the highest public offices, by means of which, and of its influence in the Executive Council, it wielded all the powers of government; it maintained influence in the legislature by means of its predominance in the Legislative Council; and it disposed of the large number of petty posts which are in the patronage of the Government all over the province. Successive Governors, as they came in their turn, are said to have either submitted quietly to its influence, or, after a short and unavailing struggle, to have yielded to this well-organised party the real conduct of affairs. The bench, the magistracy, the high offices of the Episcopal Church, and a great part of the legal profession, are filled by the adherents of this party.¹

His [the Governor's] position compelled him to seek the support of some party against the Assembly; and his feelings and his necessities thus combined to induce him to bestow his patronage and to shape his measures to promote the interests of the party on which he was obliged to lean.²

It was this appointing power that was demanded by the Assembly as part of responsible government: if they were to govern, they must of necessity appoint. Although this was clearly seen by Lord Durham,³ it was not at first admitted by the governors, the Colonial Office, or some of the Assemblies. The classic example was the dispute between Sir Charles Metcalfe

¹Lucas, *Lord Durham's Report*, II, p. 148.

²*Ibid.*, II, p. 78. Cf. Christie, *History of Lower Canada*, I, pp. 349-50; *Brit. H. of C. Papers* (113), XXXIX, 1836, pp. 22, 56; *Lower Can. Ass. Journals*, October 27, 1835, pp. 8-9.

³Lucas, *Lord Durham's Report*, II, pp. 283-84.

and the Baldwin-Lafontaine administration, when responsible government and patronage were made one issue. Lafontaine and Baldwin demanded of the governor that he should make no appointments without first consulting them, and that such appointments should help their political influence in the colony. "The Governor replied, that he would not make any such stipulation, and could not degrade the character of his office, nor violate his duty by such a surrender of the Prerogative of the Crown. He objected, as he had always done, to the exclusive distribution of Patronage with party views, and maintained the principle that Office ought, in every instance, to be given to the man best qualified to render efficient service to the State; and where there was no such pre-eminence, he asserted his right to exercise his discretion."¹ The ministry resigned; and their action was approved by the Assembly as being in accord with the principles of responsible government.² The colonial secretary, Lord Stanley, defended the position of the governor in resisting the "extravagant demands," and said that Metcalfe had "the entire concurrence and approbation of Her Majesty's Government."³ What was more surprising was the vote of the Nova Scotia and New Brunswick Assemblies, both of which supported Metcalfe's interpretation of responsible government.⁴ Christie, writing in 1848, voiced the Tory fear that was evidently behind this vote: "While they [the cabinet] can secure their dominion in the Assembly. . . and sway it at pleasure, they shall be the responsible ministers, with the treasury at command, and its attendant influences, and theirs the spoils of office, as the reward of corruption, and the means of perpetuating it. A fair understanding, in fact, that corruption shall be legal, and the people pay, provided always the representatives have their share; and this is responsible government!"⁵

Over a year after the Metcalfe affair, the lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick appointed his son-in-law, Alfred Reade, a native of England and a stranger to New Brunswick, as provincial secretary. Four members of the Executive Council resigned in protest. Their action was sustained by the House because the

¹Metcalfe's statement to the Assembly, *Can. Ass. Journals*, Dec. 1, 1843, p. 182.

²*Ibid.*, Dec. 2, 1843, pp. 186-88.

³*Brit. H. of C. Debates*, Feb. 2, 1844, pp. 144-45. Cf. *Ibid.*, May 30, 1844, pp. 31-77.

⁴*N.S. Ass. Journals*, March 5, 1844, pp. 66-71; *N.B. Ass. Journals*, Feb. 22, 1844, pp. 87-88. The Reform party was in a minority in both Assemblies.

⁵Christie, *History of Lower Canada*, II, p. 351.

appointment was an injustice to members of the colony; but more radical motions as to its violation of the principles of responsible government were defeated.¹ When the matter was referred to England,² Lord Stanley went against the governor, as the appointment had broken a rule laid down in earlier instructions that employment should be bestowed only on "settled inhabitants" of the colony.³ "I observe with satisfaction," he continued, "that the House of Assembly have not only abstained from complicating the subject with any abstract question of government, but have rejected every proposal for laying down formal principles upon such questions."⁴ It was not until 1846, when Earl Grey became colonial secretary, that patronage was definitely acknowledged to be in the hands of the governor's advisers.

The winning of responsible government and the transfer of patronage from the governor to his cabinet did not bring peace to the civil service. Two questions immediately pressed for settlement: first, the need for a definite distinction between political and civil office by means of tenure; second, the conditions which would justify removal from civil office. The answers in both cases were given by colonial experience and by English precedents enunciated in the despatches of the Colonial Office.

Before the coming of responsible government all offices were held at the pleasure of the Crown, a concession to the theory that the governor was to be completely accountable to England, but this tenure was interpreted in practice as meaning during good behaviour. "No public officer," wrote Lord Glenelg to Sir Francis Bond Head, "is in danger of losing his employment, except for misconduct or incompetency: but there are many kinds of misconduct and incompetency which could never be made the subject of judicial investigation, but which yet would be destructive of the usefulness of a public officer, and ought therefore to be followed by a dismissal from the public service."⁵

¹Hannay, *L. A. Wilmot*, pp. 76-80; *N.B. Ass. Journals*, Feb. 13, 1845, pp. 89-93.

²*Ibid.*, Feb. 22, 1845, p. 143.

³Lord Stanley to Sir W. Colebrooke, March 31, 1845 (*N.B. Ass. Journals*, Feb. 5, 1846, pp. 24-25). Cf. Lord Glenelg to Earl of Gosford, July 17, 1835 (*Brit. H. of C. Papers* 113, XXXIX, 1836, pp. 47-48); Lord Glenelg to Sir F. B. Head, Dec. 5, 1835 (*Ibid.*, pp. 57-58); Lord Glenelg to Sir A. Campbell, Aug. 31, 1836 (*N.B. Ass. Journals*, Dec. 23, 1836, p. 199).

⁴Lord Stanley to Sir W. Colebrooke, March 31, 1845 (*N.B. Ass. Journals*, Feb. 5, 1846, p. 25).

⁵Lord Glenelg to Sir F. B. Head, Dec. 5, 1835 (*Brit. H. of C. Papers* 113, XXXIX, 1836, p. 57).

The general rule was that appointments lasted for life, as removal appeared to reflect on the character and integrity of the incumbent.¹ The office of provincial secretary in New Brunswick—to give an extreme example—was filled for sixty years (1784-1844) by the two Odells, father and son.

This rule had obviously to be changed if responsible government were to become effective: political offices had to be distinguished from civil, not only by seats in the legislature and council, but also by tenure at pleasure. The heads of departments must be prepared to move out when they lost the legislature's confidence. A despatch of Lord John Russell to the governor-general in 1839 calls attention to this very necessary alteration. Lord John thought it unwise that all offices held at pleasure should in fact be held during good behaviour, but that "sufficient motives of public policy" might cause the retirement of some. This was intended to apply "rather to the heads of departments than to persons serving as clerks or in similar capacities under them," such as the treasurer, surveyor-general, secretary, attorney and solicitor-general, and members of the Executive Council. Lord John Russell added that the rule should not be enforced too stringently with existing officers, but that it was to apply for all future appointments.² Similar despatches were sent to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.³ The reform was a nominal one. Lord John Russell had accepted Durham's Report with reservations, and he was using it only as a threat against the Family Compact interests: he was not prepared to advocate the complete adoption of the new system.

For the next eight years colonial administration was in the confusion of the transitional period. A dispute in Nova Scotia finally brought a definite pronouncement from the Colonial Office in favour of responsible government and the new conditions of tenure. Sir John Harvey, lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, attempted in 1846 to conduct a coalition Executive Council and to distribute the offices of emolument between the parties. The claims of the reformers were met by the Council with an offer of the solicitor-generalship and four executive seats, with the

¹ Lucas, *Lord Durham's Report*, II, p. 284. Cf. Lord J. Russell to C.P. Thompson, Oct. 16, 1839 (*Brit. H. of C. Papers*, 211, XXXI, 1840, p. 15).

² Lord J. Russell to C. P. Thomson, Oct. 16, 1839 (*Brit. H. of C. Papers*, 211, XXXI, 1840, pp. 15-16). Cf. also *Upper Can. Ass. Journals*, Dec. 13, 1839, pp. 40-41.

³ *N.S. Ass. Journals*, Jan. 4, 1840, p. 649; Appendix No. 10, pp. 31-32; *N.B. Ass. Journals*, Feb. 5, 1840, p. 42.

understanding that all other positions were to be held for life. The Opposition declined the coalition, and objected to the Council's views on tenure, citing Lord John Russell's despatch of 1839.¹ The Council thereupon wrote the governor pointing out that the English system of government had not been adopted in Nova Scotia, that there was no administration by heads of departments, that many councillors held no other office, and that it would be most unfair to deprive men of their positions on account of party changes. They asked that their correspondence be forwarded to the colonial secretary, and that he should declare how far "the mode and principles of English administration, with their incidents as respects the tenure of offices as dependent on the changes of political parties, shall henceforth be held to be in practical operation in Nova Scotia."² Earl Grey replied in a long despatch, giving a warm adherence to the principle of parliamentary responsibility and advising a complete adoption in Nova Scotia of the English system and precedents:

Though the legal tenure, "during good behaviour," is rare, tenure during good behaviour, in the popular sense of the term, may be said to be the general rule of our public service. The exception is in the case of those high public servants whom it is necessary to invest with such discretion as really to leave in their hands the whole direction of the policy of the empire in all its various departments. Such power must, with a representative government, be subject to constant control by Parliament.³

I regard this system as possessing upon the whole great advantages. We owe to it that the public servants of this country, as a body, are remarkable for their experience and knowledge of public affairs, and honourably distinguished by the zeal and integrity with which they discharge their duties, without reference to party feeling: we owe to it also, that as the transfer of power from one party in the State to another is followed by no change in the holders of any but a few of the highest offices, political animosities are not in general carried to the same height, and do not so deeply agitate the whole frame of society as in those countries in which a different practice prevails. The system with regard to the tenure of office which has been found to work so well here, seems well worthy of

¹Letter of Howe, Doyle, M'Nab, and Young to Sir John Harvey, Dec. 17, 1846 (*Brit. H. of C. Papers*, 621, XLII, 1847-48, p. 14).

²Letters to Sir John Harvey from his Executive Council, Jan. 28 and 30, 1847 (*Brit. H. of C. Papers*, 621, XLII, 1847-48, pp. 65-68).

³Earl Grey to Sir John Harvey, March 31, 1847 (*Ibid.*, p. 77).

imitation in the British American colonies. . . . In order to keep the Executive Government in harmony with the Legislature, it is doubtless necessary that the direction of the internal policy of the colony should be entrusted to those who enjoy the confidence of the Provincial Parliament, but it is of great moment not to carry the practice of changing public officers further than is absolutely necessary for the attainment of that end, lest the administration of public affairs should be deranged by increasing the bitterness of party spirit, and subjecting the whole machinery of Government to perpetual change and uncertainty.¹

The despatch further stated that the public offices which were to be regarded as political could be determined only by local conditions. "The practical end of responsible government would be satisfied by the removability of a single public officer, provided that through him public opinion could influence the general administration of affairs." Earl Grey, however, suggested that it would probably be necessary to change the attorney-general, solicitor-general, provincial secretary, and possibly a few others. The Executive Council, he added, should contain no officers who were not removable.²

Those public servants, who hold their offices permanently, must upon that very ground be regarded as subordinate, and ought not to be members of either house of the Legislature, by which they would necessarily be more or less mixed up in party struggles; and, on the other hand, those who are to have the general direction of affairs exercise that function by virtue of their responsibility to the Legislature, which implies their being removable from office, and also that they should be members either of the Assembly or of the Legislative Council.³

Seldom has the theory of parliamentary government been so adequately expressed, or have the relations of the ministry and the civil service been so clearly defined. Nova Scotia was not slow to give a practical demonstration. On January 28, 1848, the Executive Council resigned; and the offices named by Earl Grey went to the incoming government, which expressed its willingness to leave others undisturbed until a general reorganization was effected.⁴

¹*Ibid.*, p. 78.

²*Ibid.*, p. 78.

³*Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴Sir John Harvey to Earl Grey, Feb. 10, 1848 (*Ibid.*, p. 87).

The second civil service problem presented by the growth of responsible government was the definition of the conditions justifying removal from civil office, a difficulty which found slight mention in the despatch of Earl Grey. If the greater part of the administration were to be permanent, did this mean that civil servants were to be as politically active as they wished? The ideal attitude, Lord Glenelg had written in 1835,¹ was one of neutrality on party questions; and so long as the governor both ruled and made appointments, official hostility to the government was easily prevented. But with a changing cabinet and a changing policy, it was not only possible, but extremely likely, that the civil service and the ministry would be politically opposed.

The period between the governor's and the cabinet's supremacy apparently allowed the civil servant great latitude in his party activity. In 1842 Robert Baldwin was admitted to the ministry as attorney-general for Canada West, and was compelled to seek re-election in Hastings. He was opposed, and defeated after a very violent election, by Edmund Murney, clerk of the peace in that district, but the latter was not dismissed from office until after the contest. Sir Charles Bagot in a letter to the colonial secretary said that it seemed to him and his Council both inconsistent and highly injurious to the efficiency of government that such an office-holder should work against the ministry "in the most obnoxious form by opposing the re-election of my principal law officer. . . . proclaiming his intention of offering determined resistance to government policy."² The governor enclosed Murney's answer to his dismissal. In this letter Murney denied that the office of clerk of the peace came under Lord John Russell's despatch of 1839, and stated that although he had resisted Lord Sydenham's scheme of union he had not been dismissed. He had opposed Baldwin in 1841, and would have succeeded but for the violence and intimidation used by Baldwin's friends, who threatened "all who voted for Mr. Murney would be forthwith dismissed. Perhaps the wisdom of your Executive Council can draw the distinction between the intimidation of clubs and intimidation used by Executive threats." He stated that he was also a major in the militia, and concluded: "Believing that the one office as much comes within the meaning of the above despatch

¹Lord Glenelg to Sir F. B. Head, Dec. 5, 1835 (*Brit. H. of C. Papers*, 113, XXXIX, 1836, p. 64).

²Sir C. Bagot to Lord Stanley, Nov. 11, 1842 (*Canadian Archives*, G. 457, No. 235)

as the other. . . . I beg to tender the resignation of my commission."¹

As self-government gradually developed, the question of the political activity of civil servants became more and more serious. The cabinet made all appointments to the service from its own political supporters, and as a result a new ministry was frequently confronted with hostile subordinates. These were protected to a great degree by the convention that their tenure was one during good behaviour; but this could be partially circumvented by increasing the number of avowedly political offices, and also by making political partisanship a kind of misbehaviour and a cause for removal. It was the latter policy that found most favour with the colonial governments, and their natural inclination was strengthened by the well-established American practice of dismissing all civil servants who were appointed by the opposite party.

Such action was at first strongly opposed by the Colonial Office, but a few years' experience compelled a modification of its views. In 1848, for example, the Reform government in Nova Scotia found that the civil service was hampering its work and opposing its candidates at elections. In as much as Earl Grey's despatch of 1847 had imposed restrictions on the power of removal,² the ministry wrote him for further advice. Earl Grey's reply showed how his earlier position had changed. He rebuked the civil service for their conduct, intimated that a continuance would lead to a more strict application of the power of dismissal, and concluded with a suggestion that disfranchisement might prove the only possible solution:³

I am aware of no remedy against what is termed "the concealed hostility" of persons holding permanent offices to an administration opposed to that to which they may have been indebted for their appointments. It is impossible but that such persons should, like all others, have their personal political feelings and it is not unnatural that they should desire the advancement of the party to power to whom they are thus indebted, but these persons must be aware that the condition upon which they will be suffered to enjoy exemption from dismissal for any other cause but that of positive misconduct, will be that they should abstain from taking

¹*Ibid.*

²*Cf. supra*, pp. 125-126.

³Earl Grey to Sir John Harvey, Nov. 15, 1848 (*N.S. Legis. Coun. Journals*, 1849, Appendix No. 11, pp. 123-25).

any active part in political contests. Such indeed is the well understood rule which prevails in this country, and I am of opinion that a similar rule should be enforced in Nova Scotia. In the smaller society of a Colony, it is not unreasonable to expect that party disputes should run higher than in the larger and more settled society of this Country; and it becomes the more necessary, therefore, that in the Colonies neutrality in party contests should be observed on the part of holders of office not regarded as political. I should think it by no means unreasonable to make it known to such persons, that they would be expected to abstain from the exercise of their right of voting at Elections against any Member of the existing Administration for the time being, inasmuch as they could not give such votes without forfeiting that neutral position in politics which is the condition of their permanent tenure of their respective offices.¹

By 1860 colonial precedent and the approval of the Colonial Office had established the custom that active political partisanship by a civil servant constituted valid grounds for dismissal. Nova Scotia again furnished the opportunity for the official pronouncement on the subject. The Conservative government in 1859 appointed Peter Hamilton, a violent partisan,² registrar of deeds for Halifax. The following year, the Conservatives having been defeated, he was removed by the Liberals. Lord Mulgrave, the lieutenant-governor, in reporting the incident to the colonial secretary said that the removal was quite justifiable and in accord with Earl Grey's despatch of November 15, 1848. He continued: "No one can be more opposed than I am to the system of depriving persons of subordinate offices simply on account of their political feelings, but at the same time I feel that it would be impossible for Responsible Government to exist if persons holding these offices are permitted to become open and violent partisans and still to retain their offices in opposition to the party in power."³

The Duke of Newcastle replied that "the act was no more than consonant with generally received principles of administration. It would be manifestly unreasonable that anyone should expect to be in active opposition to the Government and at the

¹*Ibid.*, pp. 124-25.

²Lord Mulgrave considered him so extreme a politician that he told the Conservative government in 1859 that he thought the appointment "an injudicious one."

³Lord Mulgrave to the Duke of Newcastle, May 26, 1860 (*Toronto Globe*, Sept. 22, 1860).

same time to remain a public servant. . . . It is competent to any man to choose between political life and official life, but not to attempt to combine in himself two incompatible conditions."¹ A minute of the Nova Scotia Executive Council indicates that its view of the case was identical with that of the governor and the colonial secretary.²

Two years later the removal of the Honourable E. B. Chandler from office in New Brunswick led to a further correspondence between the lieutenant-governor and the ministry and the lieutenant-governor and Colonial Office.³ Substantially the same principles were enunciated as in the earlier Nova Scotian case, though the Duke of Newcastle was somewhat more explicit in his warning for moderation:

I cannot, however, but express my cordial concurrence in the principle you have laid down in your Minute, that in the case of offices not of a political nature, it is highly inexpedient and improper to remove their holders except for incompetency or misconduct. Should removals from such offices be made from political motives, the obvious consequence would be that opposite political parties, on succeeding to power, would retaliate, so as to produce a repetition of vindictive and extensive changes amongst the holders of government offices, and thus to prevent the growth of experience and destroy the efficiency of public administration. This is an evil which is so notorious in a neighbouring country that it may serve as a warning to the public men of the British Provinces of North America, where happily greater moderation has prevailed in political affairs, and a greater stability in the machinery of Government.⁴

The Canadian civil service, therefore, owes much to the period before Confederation. It not only began at that time; it also took on some of its most important characteristics, the influence of which is still felt. In the early days before responsible government the civil service presented few problems: its administrative duties were slight; its personnel was the governor and his adherents. The Crown Colony had to be ruled, and the governor and the Family Compact did it. Then appeared troublesome ideas about self-government, and the governor's lot "was not a happy one." Patronage, instead of being a useful means

¹Duke of Newcastle to Lord Mulgrave, July 5, 1860 (*Ibid.*).

²*Ibid.*

³*N.B. Ass. Journals*, 1862, pp. 192-95.

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 193-94.

of maintaining peace, became a storm centre around which the Crown and the Assembly fought for power. Responsible government was finally obtained, but it only accentuated the uncertainty in the civil service. Political and civil offices had to be clearly defined, and separated by tenure as well as by position in the Council, and patronage given to the majority in the Assembly, who used it as selfishly as their predecessors. This in turn led to the further problem of the right of a civil servant to take part in politics. It was decided that, as the civil servant should not actively support any party, political partisanship would constitute valid grounds for removal. Lastly, throughout this period as in later years, the trend of events in the civil service was guided, not only by local conditions, but by the examples and precedents in Great Britain and the United States.

R. MACGREGOR DAWSON

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO IN 1856

A GREAT many of the documents relating to the history of higher education in Upper Canada are to be found in the late Dr. J. George Hodgins's monumental work, *The documentary history of education in Upper Canada* (28 vols., Toronto, 1894-1910). But most of the documents printed by Dr. Hodgins are official, formal, and colourless, and leave unexplained many episodes in the university politics of those days. The following letter, which is anything but colourless, and was written in 1856 by John Langton, then vice-chancellor of the University of Toronto, to his brother in England, lifts the veil from much that has been obscure, and is a valuable contribution to the *histoire intime* of the days when the University of Toronto and the other institutions of higher learning in Upper Canada were in their formative stage.

John Langton (1808-1894) was a master of arts of Cambridge University who settled near Peterborough, Upper Canada, in 1833. From 1851 to 1855 he was the representative of Peterborough in the Legislative Assembly of Canada; and in 1855 he was appointed the first auditor-general of Canada—a position which he occupied continuously until 1878. In 1855 he was elected vice-chancellor of the University of Toronto, and he played an important part in reorganizing the university under the University Act of 1854. During this period he wrote to his brother, William Langton, in England, a number of letters, such as people in those days found leisure to write, in which he unburdened himself without reserve. These are now in the possession of Mr. W. A. Langton, of Toronto, to whom we are indebted for permission to publish the letter which follows.

[*Transcript.*]

Toronto Nov: 12, 1856.

My dear William:

Before entering into my own position in University matters I think I must give you a sketch of its History. It originated in our energetic

old Bishop¹ who, when land was comparatively a drug, got together an endowment which, after being for 25 years and more a perfect mine of wealth for speculators, is worth now little if anything short of £500,000. The University park of 150 acres in Toronto is even now worth £1,000 an acre, and what it may reach eventually no man can tell, though I hope it will never be sold. Besides this we have a great deal of valuable land in all parts of the Province, unsold and unproductive, and an income from rents and investments of upwards of £15,000 a year. About 1840, when Church of Englandism became less fashionable, King's College was legislated out of the Bishop's hands and passed through many phases, but the greatest change was in 1847. The endowment having even then become valuable, an effort was made to have it divided. There was to be a central University and local denominational Colleges were to get a share of the funds. This was the conservative doctrine, but Baldwin² always stuck out for the integrity of the institution and, as his party came in about that time with an overwhelming majority, Canada presented the astonishing sight of a nation voting against their individual interests and each denomination refusing to take a share of the plunder. Baldwin's bill converted King's College into the University of Toronto, an absolutely Godless institution according to the pietists. A very few years however proved the bad working, not of his conception, but of his machinery. The convocation was not a numerous body enough to have much influence, though they had great powers; and the great majority of them had got their degrees in the Bishop's time and seceded to his rival institution Trinity College. The Professors who formed the Senate found all their time occupied in managing the selling and leasing of the lands and disentangling the immense mass of speculation which had existed. The professors of various branches of medicine were so numerous as to outwit the rest, and they first lowered the other salaries and then raised their own. Before three years the University had got into very bad odour, and had degenerated into a very expensive and very bad medical school. Hincks³ now stepped in with a new Act. He abolished convocation and the faculties of Law and Medicine and their host of Professors; he assumed the management of the property, and made two corporations out of one, viz. University College, the teaching body, and the University of

¹The Right Rev. the Hon. John Strachan (1778-1867), first bishop of Toronto, and first president of King's College, Toronto.

²The Hon. Robert Baldwin (1804-1858), prime minister of Canada (1842-44 and 1848-51).

³The Hon. (afterwards Sir) Francis Hincks (1807-1885), prime minister of Canada (1851-54).

Toronto, an abstraction for granting degrees to which University College and all the other Colleges in the country were supposed to be affiliated, whilst Upper Canada College, a High School, (also an institution of the Bishop's creation with an income of nearly £6000), lost its corporate existence and was placed under the management of the University. This was all very well in theory, but in practice it has been worse than Baldwin's measure. It is all very well affiliating colleges, but as several of these bodies had charters for conferring degrees it involved the absurdity of affiliating one University to another. None of the colleges got any share of the spoil, which was all they cared for, and we further reduced the link by not making membership of some college necessary to membership of the University. It is somewhat of a novel experiment but I think a very sound one. We admit to degrees, scholarships, etc. anybody who will come up to our standard, which is a very much higher one than any of the local colleges exact or are capable of bringing their students up to. In practice therefore we have but one affiliated college, viz. University College and yet the Senate, (with the exception of myself and two or three others), consists of the heads of these other colleges, who bear us no love and, if they attend at all, do it only to obstruct. It has also had this ill effect, that the really important body, University College, has been thrown entirely into the hands of its President and only representative in our Senate, Dr. McCaul¹. . . . The professors, who are a body of as good men as any country need wish to possess, are extinguished and Dr. McCaul is University College; and as U. Coll. is the real successor of the late University and is maintained out of the same funds with no well drawn line of partition in the purse, he was very near becoming the University also. Then as to the funds—everything is vested in the Queen. We cannot even pay any current expense out of income without a statute to which the Governor² considers that he must give an active assent, that is he must consult his council and keep us sometimes six months waiting for the fiat. At least this was his interpretation of his visitational powers at first, but he is beginning to think a passive assent, (reserving to himself the power of disallowing), will be sufficient, and in practice we do spend money without any statute or consulting him at all. As to the principal, we cannot touch that without an order in Council placing it at our disposal; and there ought to be a similar order placing parts of our income at our disposal,

¹The Rev. John McCaul (1807-1886), successively president of King's College, the University of Toronto, and University College, Toronto (1853-80). See J. King, *McCaul, Croft, Forneri* (Toronto, 1914).

²Sir Edmund Walker Head, Bart. (1805-1868), governor-general of Canada (1854-61). Head had been from 1830 to 1837 a fellow of Merton College, Oxford.

but as none are ever passed we go on spending as I said before without any formal authority. The whole thing is a mass of confusion. Ordinary current expenses must be paid and I draw cheques which the Bursar pays, and there being no line drawn Dr. McCaul also draws cheques; and as it is often doubtful whether it is an University or a college matter the Bursar, who has to come to me to have his accounts audited, sometimes will pay the Dr's cheques and sometimes wont without my signature also. But if the Government are careless of us sometimes and leave a statute for raising a servant's wages £15 a year unsanctioned for 6 months, and for a year and a half never even acknowledge receipt of our application to have money placed at our disposal for Buildings and a library, in other cases they are very attentive to our funds. They ordered the Bursar to lend £15000 to a bankrupt Railway, which would have been entirely lost had not another Company a year afterwards bought them out and somebody in the House, (not having our case in view), put a clause into the Act that they should pay the debts of the Bankrupt. We had a lot of land which in consequence of some of the new railways is going to be the site of a village. We have more money than we could or the Government would let us spend, but they ordered the land to be sold for £2000 whilst four months afterwards it fetched £8000 and is now probably worth £20,000. But the grossest of all cases was perpetrated immediately after the passing of the Act. Hincks passed another Act authorizing the Government to take such portion of the University park as might not be wanted for University purposes for the erection of Parliament Buildings; and the Senate not having been yet appointed, without enquiry what we wanted for University purposes, they forthwith took possession of the whole, turned the College out of its building and transferred them temporarily to the old Parliament house, and forthwith began draining, road making etc., and although the plan of Parliament Buildings fell through the Board of Works continued to spend £10,000 in preparation. When the Government moved here the old Parliament Buildings were wanted, so they wanted to transfer the college to a vacant Orphans' Asylum, (a more appropriate suggestion), but remonstrances having been made, they did add to and fit up the old medical school, (the old college Buildings which cost us £15,000 having in the mean time been gutted by the Board of Works and rendered uninhabitable). This was the state of affairs when I came to live at Toronto. The next encroachment of the Government was opening a road through the park, without the common courtesy of consulting us about it. . . . This led to a formal remonstrance. Three members of the Senate and three members of the Government met, with the Governor as moderator, and we agreed to

a memorandum that our application for money to build, etc. should be answered, (after a year and a half), which it was, and they gave us £75,000 for the buildings and £20,000 for the Library; that they should hand over to us all the park west of the avenue, which they also did, reserving to themselves the other 50 temporarily till it was decided where the seat of Government was to be, when it was also to be given up if not wanted for Parliament Buildings; and lastly that they should do nothing to this other half in the meantime without consulting us. It has been decided by a solemn vote of Parliament that the seat of Government shall not be at Toronto; nevertheless they won't give up the East half, though we wanted it for the site of our new Buildings, (which I am glad of for it was a bad site); and, without any notice to us and in spite of our remonstrance, they fitted up the old college buildings, (which we wanted to pull down and use the materials), as a Lunatic Asylum, enclosing about 20 acres of our park; and to add insult to injury the official designation is *the University Lunatic Asylum*. This was the feather that broke Blake's¹ back and he resigned the Chancellorship. The nominal feather at least, for I suspect he had other reasons.

This is a very long story, but it is necessary for you to understand my position. The University itself has hardly a friend in the country, and many enemies. The Church looks upon us as Godless, and *perhaps* would have no objection to a slice of the endowment. The Methodists, the next most powerful body with Ryerson² at their head, make no secret of their hatred and their aspirations for a share of the money. The church of Rome profess to be friendly, but though some of our more active members of the Senate are catholic it is observable that we never have had one Catholic student. The Church of Scotland has an University of its own which is very poor and very inefficient, which may lead one to suspect how the wind blows though they are too cautious to express an opinion. The only powerful sect with us is the Free Church to which may be added some Baptists, Independents and other small fry. The Law* ignores our degrees except those in Arts, and the leading members of the bar are not Churchmen. Medicine is against us almost to a man, for the dissatisfied professors are establishing

¹The Hon. William Hume Blake (1809-1870), chancellor of Upper Canada (1850-62) and chancellor of the University of Toronto (1853-56).

²The Rev. Egerton Ryerson (1803-1882), superintendent of education in Upper Canada.

*I mean the profession who, whilst admitting people to practice in two years less who have no degree in Arts, take no notice of our degrees in law. I don't know what the use of them is. The examination is very absurd, being all on questions of practice and detail whilst it ought to be upon first principles, but I am in hot water enough without attempting to meddle with Blake's programme of law studies. [J.L.]

private schools and fear a restoration of the faculty. Baldwin and his friends stand aloof and prophecy evil of us. Of the five Upper Canada Ministers, 3 don't conceal their desire to divide the endowment, and one is too insignificant to have an opinion or to give it weight if he had one. The governor general is about the best friend we have, but he is a very difficult man to deal with and brings old country notions to apply where they will not fit. A governor general is a trump card certainly but in some respects the least reliable card in the pack, 1st because he must do after all what his Ministry wants and he can never tell from day to day who they may be, and 2ndly because from his position he acts upon very imperfect knowledge of facts, one day ridiculously alarmed at some noisy newspaper editor and the next day earwigged by you know not who. This is certainly not a very flourishing state for an University, and my own position in it does not make it better. Here am I a perfect stranger in Toronto come suddenly amongst them to upset old established ways and men, not loved much you may depend upon it by Dr. McCaul, and looked upon with suspicion at any rate by Blake and his friends, brought into constant collision with the Government whose servant I am, and with nobody to back me except the Professors who from hatred of McCaul stick to me like bricks but without much power, and half a dozen very worthy Baptist, Independent and Presbyterian parsons who enable me to carry a majority in the Senate. I have nobody to consult with, for my parsonic allies are quiet men who don't like any more responsibility than is involved in a vote and the Professors very wisely don't like appearing openly in the troubled waters. It has been a very difficult card to play even if I had succeeded to the helm in smooth water, but to take the command in a storm is nervous work. You may easily imagine from what I have said before that the ship is not in the very best order or the crew much to be relied on, but you cannot conceive unless you saw it the utter state of confusion in which everything is. I *must* put things into some order and in doing so I cannot help at every step treading on somebody's toes. Dr. McCaul is no doubt a first rate scholar and a very clever man and he has one element fitting him for command that whether it is by bullying or by compromising or by artful countermining he never loses sight of the main object—to have his own way in the end; but he is absolutely deficient in the talent of order. Partly perhaps it is design. The end he always keeps in view, the means he is quite unscrupulous about and provided a thing will serve his turn in the end he cares not for its being suitable to the present state of affairs. No matter how heterogeneous or inconsistent with each other the materials may be, if he has or thinks he has the clue by which he can fit each of them into some place in

his proposed building they will serve his turn. You may think I am prejudiced against the man because we have been brought into rivalry, but I formed my opinion of him very early in the day and those that know him best entertain the same. Whilst I was writing the previous page I had a visit from Dr. Wilson¹ one of our Professors and, the conversation turning on McCaul, he warned me for the fiftieth time to beware of him and he added:—if he opposes you you may be safe enough by fighting it out, but if ever he entirely agrees with you and appears to go cordially with you, beware, he will trip you up if he can. I omitted one trait of McCaul's—when a man has such complicated plans on his hands he can rarely be certain what turn things may take and he very rarely commits himself so far to an opinion that he cannot withdraw from it, or does a thing so effectually that it cannot be undone. If he does not see clearly how it will work in, he had rather do nothing and wait the course of events. Blake on the other hand was as determined in gaining his object, but he went straight to it regardless of any obstacles. He was very imperious and hard working and wanted not only to do everything his own way but to do it himself, and as his duties in Chancery left him little leisure he left things undone or half done, or what was worse to be finished by McCaul. These two men had the entire management of everything and a pretty mess they made of it. Things had got to such a pass, there was such a want of system, that I *had* to undertake a reform. There is hardly a thing that was done which I have not had more or less to undo, and that with the greatest difficulty in finding out what was the former practice. Blake was ill after his resignation and is now in England, the Professors have always been studiously kept in the dark by McCaul, and McCaul himself impenetrable. Some little I can glean from the Registrar and Bursar, but I am compelled to tread on their toes too. They have been very cordial with me, for they hate McCaul, but the Bursar's office stops more than £3000 a year out of our £15,000, which I want to reform, and the Registrar is the Bursar's son in law. The deeper I search the more I find confusion pervading everything. The monetary system or rather no system is radically bad, the limits of the College and University authority almost undefined, the very course of instruction or rather examination has to be entirely remodeled, (here the Professors can really assist me with advice and they never were consulted or their views properly placed before the Senate, whilst McCaul is a classical scholar and nothing more). In this branch of my reforms I find very

¹Daniel (afterwards Sir Daniel) Wilson (1816-1892), professor of history and English literature in the University of Toronto (1853-92) and president of University College (1881-92).

great difficulty, for though I think I can carry my changes with some compromises I cannot help seeing that my parsonic friends whilst voting with me have some doubts whether I am really competent to upset a whole system and build up a new one in opposition to McCaul who has been a fellow or a president of a college all his life, and I can well excuse them for I have considerable doubts myself. Another change I have had to make which is anything but popular with the students. We had a much larger income than sufficed for our wants and, proceeding upon the plan that anything we left would be snapped up by others and only sharpen their appetite, we spent in some things most lavishly, granting scholarships and prizes without limit, so that it was the exception rather than the rule if a student had not a scholarship or half a dozen prizes. But now we have not only very much increased our expenses in other ways but we are about to spend on Buildings, Library and Museum nearly £100,000 from our capital, and to enable our income thereby reduced to meet necessary expenses we must cut off the superfluities. I therefore attacked the prizes and scholarships, and succeeded in reducing the latter to one third and the former to one tenth. Upper Canada College has been a great source of trouble. It is a school endowed with about £6000 a year of public money, and it is without exception the worst school I ever saw or heard of. Blake had commenced the attack here, and as a preparatory measure had got the Principal and the worst master pensioned off. How bad is the system, or again I say no system, you may imagine from this one fact. There is a commercial form, viz. boys who do not learn Latin and Greek. Out of nine masters some of them with £500 or £600 a year, one at £100 a year has been assigned to a class of about 50 in which, on the negative principle of not learning Latin and Greek, are placed boys ranging from 10 to 18 years of age, whatever their qualifications may be in other respects. Blake I say had commenced the attack and had sketched out a very good scheme, which is however in abeyance till we get a new Principal, which we are not likely to do in a hurry I am afraid. Being anxious to get a good man we made his salary £750 which, with his share of the fees and a capital house, firewood, etc., is at least equal to £1000 a year, which is as much as any of the judges get except the Chief Justice and the Chancellor. We also arranged that he was to have charge of the Boarding House, which has hitherto been a disgrace to the school and upon which we have been expending this summer £2000 to £3000. Now the Governor promised to get us a man and being totally ignorant of the country he told him that he might probably by the boarders raise his income £400 or £500 more. Our man very wisely I think refused to have anything to do with board-

ing except superintendence, and suggested that we might take the profits of the boarding service ourselves and allow him something towards the same sum by fees or some other way. Now if the Principal managed the boarding house, if he was a good manager he might have made something of it tho' never £400 a year, but if we are to manage it we must pay somebody else, for the service, what the Principal would have got; so we totally declined to make any addition to the salary, and the Governor was in a great pet and said he washed his hands of the whole concern. . . . The spending of the money I think I have at last got into a somewhat more satisfactory condition. I have got Committees appointed, each regulated by its own Statute, for the Buildings, the Grounds, the Library, the Museum, the Observatory, (toward which the Government contributes), and Upper Canada College, (which has its own funds). Each of these have money placed at their disposal from time to time by the Senate and are responsible for the spending of it, instead of the miscellaneous system which formerly prevailed, all centering at last on Dr. McC. On these Committees I have also placed the best of the Professors, which for the first time gives them any proper voice in the management of affairs.

Since I finished the last sheet I think I have got the examination subjects into a more favorable position than I ever succeeded in doing before. Dr. McCaul and I are a committee to arrange details and it is impossible to move him a step. Day after day we meet and talk over the thing—we apparently get a thing settled one day but it has all to be gone over again the next, and he is constantly starting new ideas, merely I believe to create delay. He has already put the thing off so long that we have been obliged to commence a new year on the old system, but I think by stealing two whole days from the office and sitting up to 3 o'clock in the morning I have at last got things into train and we may get a new system adopted for next year. I often think I am a fool to trouble myself so much about it. What is the University to me that I should bother myself with it? Why can't I take my £200 a year with as little trouble as possible as long as I stay here? but it is not my nature any more than it would be yours; and besides I am positively ashamed to see our printed programme, such a mass of absurdity is it. I must in vindication of my folly give you a sample or two and there are many more. We have a department of History and a man at the head of it Dr. Daniel Wilson; well known in Europe as well as here, but his department is really ridiculous. In a five years course he only brings English History down to Henry VII, and there is absolutely no other history except that of Egypt down to Cleopatra and that of Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, French and

German history going with those languages, which are under the care of a very worthy pudding-headed old Italian to whom they have been assigned upon the principle, which appears to be accepted elsewhere as well as in Canada, that foreign languages are safe in the hands of a foreigner. The foreign language department is also most contemptible which must I am afraid be laid at the door of poor Dr. Forneri;¹ but Dr. Wilson is innocent of the short comings of history, except in as far as it may be a retribution upon him for the holy hatred with which he regards McCaul, a hatred most religiously returned. As examples of the inconsistency of our system I may mention that during the whole course three or four scholarships are assigned to Classics and to Mathematics for one to the Natural sciences, but the last year, when we end with 5 gold medals, two are given to the Natural Sciences and only three amongst all the rest of the Departments. Also that, whilst scholarships are confined to men in the first class, there is nothing for the second, and such valuable prizes for the 3rd that I had a man remonstrating the other day at the injustice done to him by the examiner placing him, by mistake he contended, in the first class. We have a department of Metaphysics and Ethics under a most learned and excellent man Dr. Beaven.² After the first two years we allow students to exercise options and they may under certain conditions drop Classics, but then they must retain Metaphysics, yet Dr. Beaven insists upon examining almost altogether from Aristotle, Cicero, etc., and positively requires them to read more Greek and Latin than Dr. McCaul himself. I argue in vain but I will have my own way in this case, Dr. McCaul assenting and delighted to see me getting into trouble with Dr. Beaven, and the Dr., who in former days on account of Clergy Reserve heresies had told me he looked upon me as little less than a heathen, more plainly intimates that I am also one of the unlettered. . . .

The buildings have been a terrible source of trouble all summer. Money, site, style, plan, elevation, architect's pay, have all been the subject of endless discussion and annoyance. We got the money in Blake's day, but the Governor General seems to think that he is personally responsible for the expenditure and is always interfering, now making light of any expenditure which hits his fancy at the moment and ignoring all difficulty as to squaring our expenses to our reduced income from otherwise appropriated capital, and now overcome with a niggardly fit. The battle of the site was fought too in Blake's day and helped to his

¹James Forneri (1789-1869), professor of modern languages in University College, Toronto (1853-65). See J. King, *op. cit.*

²The Rev. James Beaven (1801-1875), professor of ethics and metaphysics in King's College, the University of Toronto, and University College, Toronto (1842-71).

defeat for both he and the Architect were tempted by a site at the end of a fine Avenue nearly a mile long. St. Peter's would look magnificent there, but anything we could build would be but a mushroom at that distance and we should have had to have sacrificed convenience to great elevation. I was not sorry when the Lunatic Asylum blocked us out from that ground, for we have a beautiful site elsewhere. From this time my troubles commenced. Blake proposed to make me the Building Committee but I declined unless he and Chief Justice Draper¹ were associated with me, promising to do all the work. I had not sufficiently calculated upon Blake's desire to do everything himself, whilst between Chancery and the govt. he could do nothing. However we took ample powers, and for two valuable months after Cumberland returned² we did nothing. After Blake's resignation I had it all to myself, for Draper does not want to interfere and never does unless I ask his advice, and unless it had been in one man's hands we never could have got along at all. The site being chosen Cumberland drew a first sketch of a gothic building but the Gov. would not hear of Gothic and recommended Italian, shewing us an example of the style, a palazzo at Sienna which, if he were not Gov. Gen. and had written a book on art, I should have called one of the ugliest buildings I ever saw. However after a week's absence the Gov. came back with a new idea, it was to be Byzantine; and between them they concocted a most hideous elevation. After this the Gov. was absent on a tour for several weeks during which we polished away almost all traces of Byzantine and got a hybrid with some features of Norman, of early English etc. with faint traces of Byzantium and the Italian palazzo, but altogether a not unsightly building and on his return His Excellency approved. When our Government were taunted in the House with their want of policy and unnatural alliance of parties and they were asked whether they called themselves a conservative or a reform or a coalition Ministry, one of them replied that they called themselves the Government of Canada. So we, if asked after the style of our building, may call it the Canadian style; and to an uncritical eye it is a very respectable and rather imposing structure, or will be, but the various breeds which entered into its composition have cropped out in somewhat different proportions in its two principal facades. Concurrently with this of course the plan was progressing, and as the College is also to be accommodated I had to consult its authorities. It has evidently been a sore with McCaul

¹The Hon. William Henry Draper (1801-1877), chief justice of the court of Common Pleas in Upper Canada (1856-63), and chief justice of Upper Canada (1863-77).

²From England, where he had gone in connection with preparations for the designing of the building.

that he has nothing to say to the building, but as I have got absolute power here I will keep it. However I had to ask them to appoint a Committee to confer with me and he made a last great effort to consider it a joint Building Committee, but not being backed by the Professors I escaped that rock. Their demands for space were however outrageous and at last it was only by telling them, as the Gov: authorized me to do, that if they did not moderate their expectations he would stop the building altogether that I succeeded in making a compromise. I shewed the plan to Gov. who was in a very bad temper that morning, hardly looked at it, assented, and went on his tour; so the elevation was completed in accordance and I advertized for tenders. When he came back and the whole thing was submitted to him, he counted up the lecture rooms, stormed at our extravagance, and said he would stop the whole thing. However I evaded that difficulty by scratching out the word Lecture room and erasing all appearance of seats for the students, when he said it was much more sensible, so we proceeded to stake out the ground. But here an unexpected difficulty arose. It seems that His Excellency had all along thought that the South front was to face the East [West?], and nothing would satisfy him but so it must be and under his superintendence we proceeded to measure and stake out, Cumberland's¹ face exhibiting blank despair for it brought his chemical laboratory where no sun would ever shine into it, his kitchens etc. into the prettiest part of the grounds, and several other inconveniences which His Excellency said could be easily remedied. However there stands on the ground an elm tree, a remnant of the old forest, with a long stem as such trees have and a little bush on the top of it, not unlike a broom with its long handle stuck into the ground, and it soon became evident that the tree would fall a sacrifice. This he would not permit and when I hinted that it would certainly be blown down before long, he told me it was the handsomest tree about Toronto, (as it certainly is one of the tallest), and politely added "but you Canadians have a prejudice against trees". He then stalked off the ground followed by his A.D.C. I thought Cumberland would have thrown the whole thing up that day, he was so annoyed, but we took up the stakes and staked it out our way with the South front facing the South, and by a little stuffing and squeezing we got the tree into such a position that it may be saved but with the almost certainty that when it is blown down it will take some of the student's quarters with it. It is some comfort that that will occur before Tom² is old enough to go to College, or I

¹Lieut.-Col. Frederick William Cumberland (1821-1881), civil engineer and architect.

²Thomas Langton (1849-1914), eldest son of John Langton,

should be uneasy in stormy nights. However I bless that tree and hope its shadow may never be less for it got us out of [the] scrape. When the Gov. paid us a visit next day he was quite satisfied and complimentary, and in congratulating us upon the safety of the tree he said to Cumberland with that impertinence which Governors General can so well indulge in "For I am sure *you* can never put anything up half as pretty". That day I met John Macdonald¹ in the street who said, "so I hear you have been cutting down the trees", and calling upon Lady Head that afternoon with the ladies she asked, "Did you save that tree?"—upon which a smile passed between her and the Aide. The Chief Justice of New Brunswick also who was there on a visit, was present at the first indignation and suggested that the tree might perhaps be transplanted adding, "did not your Excellency transplant one almost as large at St. John's?" The great man muttered something about a failure, from all which I conclude that if we Canadians have prejudices about trees our Governors are not quite exempt from the same. This was pretty nearly the last of my troubles about the Building. During these interviews and others on other subjects with the Governor I learnt a trick or two about great men. Of course it is very improper to argue with a Governor General, but I was not bred a courtier and am somewhat inclined to argument. But I never do argue in presence of a third person, especially before Cumberland against whom it is clear the Gov. has a great prejudice. He has often upbraided me for deserting him when we were agreed upon a point. But alone I have no such scruples. I stick to my point stiffly and often gain it, and if I find it prudent to appear convinced I generally can get it accomplished by returning to the subject next day in somewhat a different direction. Hitherto at any rate I have got everything I much cared about my own way except the removal of Upper Canada College on which he is inflexible. With all its endowment it is getting deeper into debt, but it stands on ground worth £50,000 at least, far too confined for its accommodation with proper playgrounds, etc., and on a main thoroughfare where you cannot keep the boys out of mischief; whilst we have ground in abundance in the University Park and could put up far better buildings for the money and gain £1000 a year besides, almost exactly central too to the space and not very far from the centre of the population of Toronto. But U. C. College lies almost at his door, and I suppose he thinks that the centre of the world whilst it is really at one corner.

You may easily imagine that all these things keep me pretty fully employed. Indeed since my appointment I think the University has

¹The Hon. (afterwards Sir) John Alexander Macdonald, then attorney-general for Upper Canada, and government leader in the Legislative Assembly.

taken up fully half my time and much more than half my thoughts. And all for what? For £200 a year you will say. But in two or three years at any rate I shall be moved away and have no further connection with them, even if I remain as long or the University itself continues in existence. Since Blake's resignation they have not been able to get anybody to take the Chancellorship and I am not surprized—at least no one whom they will appoint. Dr. McCaul has been moving heaven and earth to be appointed, and as he can play the courtier very well I should not be very much surprized if in the dearth of others he may succeed. That would effectually finish the University. In the meantime however the lawyers say that everything we do is illegal, as our corporation is incomplete and the Governor only verbally agrees to our Statutes and tells us to act on them but does not formally sanction them, intending that we shall pass one general statute including the whole when we have a chancellor. It is not a pleasant position to be in and many members of the Senate are beginning to talk of ceasing attendance altogether. Our contract for the building too is in a curious position. If the Senate does not exist surely it cannot contract, and our Solicitor had great objections to drawing up the contract and told me if I signed it he thought I should be personally liable. However I ran the risk and signed it and affixed the seal of the University, acting by the Chief Justice's advice who said that unless the seal is affixed by fraud no court would refuse to recognize it. Rumour says that we are to have no chancellor but that we are to be left as we are till Parliament meets when there will be a new Act. In any case there will be a new Act, which the Gov. is now drawing up. It will restore us the management of our property and make us independent of the Government and reunite or draw closer the bonds between the College and the University. This is as it should be but can he carry it? He says he thinks he can depend upon Lower Canada for support but I doubt, and above all can he depend upon his Government which I doubt more. Once introduce the subject in Parliament and no one can tell how it will come out of it. The whole thing may be legislated away, and most probably I shall. It is disheartening, but what is a man to do. Every stone that goes up in the building, every book that is bought is so much more anchorage and so much less plunder to fight for. It is said so live as if you might die to-morrow, and in this case I try to do the converse to Act as if we were to live for ever. If we survive it is so much gain, if we fall the good we do will not be thrown away altogether; there will probably be some remnant left to benefit by it, or some other man who will have an abuse the less to correct. Yours truly,

(Signed) JOHN LANGTON

LOUIS RIEL'S ACCOUNT OF THE CAPTURE OF FORT GARRY, 1870

THE capture of Fort Garry, now Winnipeg, by the Red River expedition under Colonel Garnet Wolseley, on August 24, 1870, is an event in Canadian history about which some misapprehensions have been current. It has frequently been said, for example, that the arrival of Colonel Wolseley's forces took Louis Riel and his associates completely by surprise. That such was not the case is made clear by the following narrative which was written by Louis Riel himself. For this narrative the present editor is indebted to the late Joseph Riel, who died on the old homestead at St. Vital on May 27, 1921. The manuscript is not apparently complete, for it breaks off abruptly; but it has never been published, and it gives a clear idea of what went on at Fort Garry while Wolseley's forces were approaching.

A. H. DE TRÉMAUDAN

[*Transcript.*]

Avant l'arrivée des troupes, le 24 août, 1870, O'Donaghue, avec la majorité des représentants français, O'Lone et Scott¹ de Winnipeg, furent invariablement de l'avis d'envoyer au devant des troupes, aussi loin qu'à l'embouchure du lac Winnipeg, deux hommes chargés de leur demander s'ils étaient porteurs de l'amnistie,² sinon de leur signifier de

¹H. F. O'Lone, who, later, was assassinated at Pembina, had been representative for Winnipeg at the Convention of November 16, 1869, and Alfred H. Scott had been representative for the same division at the Convention of January 26, 1870. The latter had also been one of the three delegates to Ottawa, the other two being the Rev. Fr. Ritchot and Judge Black (Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, pp. 64 and 248).

²Colonel Wolseley's proclamation, which Captain Butler had brought with him on his arrival at Fort Garry on July 20, contained the sentences: "Our mission is one of peace, and the sole object of the expedition is to secure Her Majesty's sovereign authority. . . . The force, which I have the honour of commanding, will enter your Province representing no party, either in religion or politics, and will afford equal protection to the lives and property of all races and of all creeds" (Begg, *Op. cit.*, p. 383). It made no mention of any amnesty, although Col. Wolseley was supposed to have it with him; such, at least, was the impression that Bishop Taché and the Rev. Fr. Ritchot had conveyed to Riel and his followers. On June 9, 1870, Bishop Taché, in a letter to the Hon. Joseph Howe, secretary of state, had written: "I have solemnly pledged my word of honor and I have even made the promise in the name of the Canadian Government that the troops are being sent to accomplish a mission of peace; that all the troubles of the past will be totally ignored or forgotten; that no one shall be troubled, either for having been chief or member of the Provisional Government, or for having acted under its direction. In a word, that a complete and entire amnesty (if it were not already decreed) would be certainly granted before the arrival of the

ne pas avancer. A compter du 17 août jusqu'au 23 au soir, j'eus à lutter contre cette détermination, refusant de la sanctionner et empêchant qu'elle ne fut suivie quand même.

troops, so that all could remain calm and advise others to do likewise" (*Rapport du Comité spécial chargé de s'enquérir des causes des troubles des Territoires du Nord-Ouest en 1869-70, 1874*, p. 32). The reason of Bishop Taché for making the promise here referred to was the following passage of Sir John A. Macdonald's letter to him of February 16, 1870: "...you are authorized to inform the chiefs that if the government of the Company is re-established, not only a general amnesty shall be granted. . . ." (*Ibid.*, p. 19). Bishop Taché according to his evidence before the Committee, had previously had a conversation with Sir John A. Macdonald, the tenor of which he related as follows: "I told him then: 'All this is very good, but reprehensible acts have been committed and there might be others before I arrive there. Can I promise an amnesty?' He replied: 'Yes, you can promise it to them'" (*Ibid.*, p. 18). It is not our intention to dwell at length on this question, which is exceedingly complex and caused much correspondence and turmoil. We merely wish to show why Riel expected that Wolseley was the bearer of the amnesty. Apart from the above reasons, there was the fact that by clause 19 of the Bill of Rights, which the delegates of the Provisional Government had taken to Ottawa, the amnesty was clearly and fully provided for in the following words: "That none of the members of the Provisional Government or any of those acting under them be in any way held liable or responsible with regard to the movement, or any of the actions which led to the present negotiations" (Prof. E. H. Oliver, *The Canadian North-West*, p. 917). Two of the delegates, the Rev. Fr. Ritchot and A. H. Scott, had returned from their mission with the assurance that this had been granted. Unfortunately, they had no written guarantee, and now Bishop Taché had none either. Riel then understood that Canada had got the better of him. It was too late for effective resistance. His men had been disbanded. He could only surrender, or become a fugitive. He chose the latter course. "With the intimate knowledge of the country possessed by his own men and the military stores at his disposal, this [resistance] could most certainly have been done with success" (Morice, *History of the Catholic Church*, Vol. II, p. 60). "I told Father Ritchot that it was impossible for the rebels to succeed in holding the country against Canada. . . . Père Ritchot replied that Canada could never conquer the Half Breeds; the country was so vast, they could retire and sustain themselves by hunting. . . ." (Sir Charles Tupper, *Recollections of Sixty years in Canada*, 1914, p. 115). That Riel, however, had little faith in any promise made verbally by the Canadian authorities is shown by his insistence at asking, first of Rev. Fr. Ritchot, then of Bishop Taché, whether writings existed implementing the spoken words: "Riel asked me whether there was anything recorded in writing to that effect" (Testimony of Fr. Ritchot, *Rapport de 1874, cil.*, p. 79). Furthermore, there had ever been in Riel a certain amount of suspicion regarding the good faith of Bishop Taché himself, who, he seemed to fear, was siding more with Canada than with the Red River settlers. "When he [Bishop Taché] passed in view of Fort Garry [on his return to the colony from Europe, March 9, 1870] Riel's soldiers asked their chief for permission to go and receive their bishop's blessing. The president granted the same, but he, himself, would not go and said: 'It is not His Lordship Taché, it is not the bishop of St. Boniface passing, it is Canada'" (Dom Benoit, *Vie de Mgr Taché*, Vol. II, p. 59). "There he was grieved not to receive from Riel the welcome to which his children had accustomed him. The very name of Ottawa then jarred on the nerves of the half-breed leader, who could not be persuaded of the

Auguste Harrison, représentant de la Pointe des Chênes, m'appuyait de la manière la plus décidée. Moi, j'avais une autre pensée: celle de réunir au Fort Garry tous les Métis qui avaient servi le Gouvernement Provisoire, les placer sur la côte sud de l'Assiniboine et ouest de la rivière Rouge, prêts à saluer les troupes par un feu de joie, tandis que moi, avec quatre-vingts ou cent hommes de garde, me tiendrais à la porte sud du Fort Garry.³ Ayant envoyé des hommes marquants du pays au-devant du commandant, lui dire que le fort était libre, et inoccupé pour recevoir le représentant de la Reine, j'eusse attendu pour me retirer avec les Métis, que les troupes eussent pris possession du fort; une petite minorité hésitait si elle adopterait le plan, mais les autres n'en voulurent pas.

Le résultat de la discussion de ces différentes idées, fut que, par manque d'entente, rien ne fut fait, ni dans un sens ni dans l'autre.

sincerity of its professions of friendliness, and Mgr Taché was known to be the bearer of messages from the Federal authorities. Hence when the garrison of Fort Garry asked permission to go and receive his blessing, he allowed them to do so, but did not budge himself, remarking: 'It is not the bishop of St. Boniface, it is Canada, who passes' (Morice, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, p. 56). This was pointedly supplemented by a passage in Riel's speech at the opening of the Council elected by the Convention of February-March, 1870: "We have had already three commissioners [Grand Vicar Thibault, Colonel de Salaberry, and Donald A. Smith] from the Dominion, and now, perhaps, we have another come amongst us, in the person of His Lordship the Bishop of St. Boniface, one who is generally beloved and esteemed in the land, and to whose mission, I doubt not, the highest attention will be paid. For my part, I would certainly like to see, in the person of His Lordship, a commissioner invested with full power to give us what we want. But we have to be careful; for we do not know what that power is; and we must not rush blindly into the hands of commissioners" (Begg, *Op. cit.*, pp. 310 et seq.). Louis Riel's brother, Joseph, who died only recently, had no particular love for Bishop Taché, who, in his opinion, would have been better inspired to remain in Europe and not interfere with the movement launched by his brother and the Métis, when the rights of the French settlers, he thought, would have been better protected than they actually were. Others than Joseph Riel appear to have shared that opinion: "A holy bishop of the Council, His Lordship Bourget, to whom Bishop Taché, at the moment of leaving for Rome, showed the invitation of the Ottawa Government, friendly said to him: 'My Lord, if I were you, I would not leave the Council to lend the help of my influence to those politicians; they have placed themselves in a bad position, let them get out of it the best they can'" (Dugas, *Mouvement des Métis*, p. 171).

³In a letter to Bishop Taché, dated July 24, 1870, Riel wrote: "We are making ready for the arrival of the Governor. We will try to show him as many cavalymen as possible. . . . The troops and the Governor shall be received with enthusiasm! . . . My deepest respects to Mr. Archibald: we desire him much" (*Report of 1874, cit.*, p. 37). "There were rumors spread by his sympathizers on the American frontier, who represented him as making active preparations to resist the approaching expedition. 'Nothing,' he said, 'was more false than those statements. I only wish to retain power until I can resign it to a proper government'" (Butler, *The Great Lone Land*, 1910, p. 134).

Vers le commencement, j'avais dit à monsieur John McTavish⁴ que j'attendais les troupes vers le 20. J'étais donc sur le qui-vive depuis longtemps, me couchant rarement avant quatre heures du matin, ayant des gardes tous les soirs, au loin derrière Winnipeg; craignant que les troupes, dans les mauvaises intentions m'étaient connues⁵ ne nous arrivassent durant la nuit. J'avais des détectives du côté du Fort de Pierre, mais vers la fin, je commençais à les craindre. Ceux qui étaient Américains, quoique intéressés à me bien servir, faisaient cause si intime avec O'Donaghue,⁶ et ceux qui étaient Maskégons⁷ ou Anglais, quoique

⁴Nephew of Governor William McTavish of the Hudson's Bay Company, and of Assiniboia.

⁵To show that Riel had taken every precaution to keep himself posted about the movements of the troops and the sentiments of the soldiers, we would quote the following verbal statement made to us by one of those who were most closely connected with the events of those days: "The Indian chief Chatelain of Rainy Lake sent word to Riel that if he [Riel] said so, he [Chatelain] and his Indians would drown the English troops in the Rapids of the Winnipeg River in letting logs float loose in the current. Riel, who was naturally opposed to all sanguinary measures [this may be proved for 1869-70 and 1885], even when it came to protecting his own life, refused point blank to entertain for a moment this proposition." Lieutenant-governor Archibald seems to have realized something of the serious danger to which the troops and his own party had been exposed. In a letter to the Hon. Joseph Howe, he wrote on September 3, 1870: "In the course of the journey I could not fail to be impressed with the great embarrassments which a hostile feeling on the part of the Indians could have thrown in the way of the passage of the troops, and we have reason to congratulate ourselves that they have proved loyal to the Crown and resisted the attempts which were made to seduce them from their allegiance" (*Sessional Papers, 20 to 48, IV, No. 5, 1871*, p. 9). "Messengers arriving from Rainy Lake say that a certain number of Indians are rather deadly disposed" (Rev. Fr. Ritchot to Sir George E. Cartier, June 18, 1870, *Report of 1874, cit.*, p. 80).

⁶W. B. O'Donoghue was the treasurer of the Provisional Government. From the beginning of the troubles he had been one of Riel's chief lieutenants. They had between them devised a flag for the North West Territory consisting of "a white ground, on which was worked a representation of the *fleur-de-lis* and *shamrock* combined" (Begg, *Op. cit.*, p. 182). After the Provisional Government began to work smoothly, and all difficulties in the way of union with Canada seemed to have been removed, Riel had the Union Jack hoisted at Fort Garry in place of the emblem of the Provisional Government. This, however, did not meet with O'Donoghue's approval and he had the Union Jack hauled down, and the Fleur-de-Lis and Shamrock run up again. Seeing this, Riel, after replacing the new flag by the British emblem once more, placed André Nault, to this day a respected citizen of St. Vital, at the foot of the mast with orders to shoot at any one who should try to pull the flag down (Schofield, *Story of Manitoba*, Vol. I, p. 279). According to Mr. Nault, the report of Begg and some authors after him that O'Donoghue was permitted to erect another flagpole in the fort from which the flag of the Provisional Government was allowed to wave is incorrect. He stated to us under oath that there never was but one flagpole in the fort, and other old-timers of the Métis group are just as positive. The flag incident caused a violent row between Riel and O'Donoghue, the latter being more and more in favour of in-

indubitablement dévoués, m'avaient déjà averti et prouvé qu'ils seraient grandement exposés si leurs communications avec les Métis étaient connues.

Pourtant, le 23 au matin, je savais que les troupes arrivaient. Monseigneur Taché⁸ arriva, j'allai le voir avec O'Donaghue, Dauphinais, Poitras, Schmidt.⁹ Je ne voulais parler à Monseigneur d'aucune chose politique, mais lui se hâta de dire qu'il avait toutes les assurances possibles, mais nulle écrite. Je lui dis: "Ce qui nous console, c'est que vous avez fait votre possible."¹⁰ Ensuite, j'ajoutai, devant Jos. Royal¹¹: "Si le peuple était moins jeune, le Canada ne transigerait pas ainsi avec nous."¹² Monseigneur dit que les troupes étaient encore loin,¹³ et

dependence or annexation to the United States, while the former remained faithful to the British Crown with the ultimate thought of joining Canada, as conferences between Ottawa and Fort Garry now made possible in the near future.,

⁷Also called Saulteaux. Their chief was Monkman, who had received that most extraordinary commission from would-be Governor McDougall through Col. Dennis referred to in the correspondence of the time between Sir George Etienne Cartier and Sir John A. Macdonald.

⁸On August 23 (Dom Benoit, *Op. cit.*, p. 109).

⁹Pierre Dauphinais, Pierre Poitras, and Louis Schmidt were, with O'Donoghue, members of the Provisional Government.

¹⁰These words of Riel indicate clearly that he did not place much faith in the verbal assurances that had been given to Bishop Taché, and were in turn being given by him to the Métis leaders. Subsequent events were to prove that he was right.

¹¹Joseph Royal arrived from the province of Quebec in the spring of 1870, was elected in December member of the first Legislature of Manitoba for St. François Xavier West, and was re-elected for the same seat in 1872 and 1878; he was the first speaker of the House, was then provincial secretary, and resigned in 1879; in December of same year he was elected to the House of Commons for Provencher, and he was returned in 1882 and 1887; in 1888 he was appointed to the position of Lieutenant-governor of the North West Territories, and this position he held until 1897; he established *Le Métis*, later named *Le Manitoba*, in 1870, and he defended Lépine in 1874 (G. Mercer Adam, *Prominent men of Canada*, 1892, p. 386).

¹²Louis Riel then possibly regretted not having followed more closely the advice that the American Stutzman of Pembina had given him in his letter of December 25, 1869, in connection with the official mission of another member of the Roman Catholic clergy, Grand Vicar Thibault, about whom he then warningly wrote: "Inasmuch as Father Thibault comes in an official capacity, he should be regarded as an official, and not as a minister of Christ" (Begg, *History of the North West*, Vol. I. p. 439). We have seen (*supra*, p. 150) how Riel, in this respect, behaved towards Bishop Taché. From that day, August 23, 1870, Riel seems to have gradually lost the confidence which he had always had in Mgr Taché and the clergy, and he finally formed the opinion that they had leagued themselves with those whom he considered his enemies to defeat his aim of getting fair autonomy terms for his country. "He had not an entire confidence in the clergy, for, said he, the priests were the natural flatterers of the governments. He had frequent outbursts against Mgr. Taché, because he had believed the loyalty and promises of the ministers and stopped the movement of 1870"

qu'elles étaient harassées du voyage et n'étaient pas à craindre, que leurs ordres étaient précis, que le Général Lindsay¹⁴ lui avait dit que ce mouvement n'était rien autre chose qu'un mouvement de troupes allant d'un endroit à un autre.¹⁵ Je ne voulus seulement pas répliquer.¹⁴ Retournant au fort, un autre détective m'attendait pour me dire que les troupes viendraient s'arrêter ce soir là, à la Grenouillère.¹⁷ Je pressai notre monde de sauver le plus que nous pourrions de ce qui nous appartenait dans le fort;¹⁸ depuis deux semaines je m'étais occupé à cette chose là, mais l'idée d'O'Donaghue de résister aux troupes paralysait mes mesures de précautions.

Le soir, j'assemblai le Conseil. Girard,¹⁹ Royal, Dubuc,²⁰ vinrent

(Dom Benoit, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 472). So is explained the new religion established by Louis Riel in 1885. "When we armed ourselves the priests lined themselves again against us. They would not hear us in confession, neither the men, nor the women, nor the children. It was hard for the poor Métis to see all that; it was most discouraging. Before that time, when we were not enlightened, the word of the priest was the word of truth; but after that, when we got to be a little more enlightened, we saw that they could tell us lies" (Gabriel Dumont at the Music Hall, Montreal, April 24, 1888, *Le Pays*, 10 July, 1915).

¹³"His [Riel's] first word in returning to the Bishop's Palace was: 'Come, my Lord, and see the soldiers who arrive at the Fort. Do you believe it now?'" (Dugas, *Op. cit.*, p. 193). According to another version, vouchsafed for by his closest friends, he said: "It is you who will cause us to hang."

¹⁴Lieutenant-general James Lindsay, commanding Her Majesty's Forces in British North America, arrived in Canada early in April, in succession to the late Sir Charles Windham (Huyshe, *The Red River Expedition*, p. 22).

¹⁵"The troops must not be employed to impose the sovereignty of Canada on the population of Red River, if the latter refuse to admit it" (Sir F. Rogers, under-secretary of state for the colonies to the Canadian government, March 22, 1870, Dom Benoit, *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 81). "The Bishop saw General Lindsay, who had under his authority the troops of Canada. The General said to him that the troops had been sent to Red River; that it was 'an expedition of peace', that this sending had nothing to do with the movement of the preceding winter" (*Ibid.*, p. 109). "It is an expedition of peace" (Hon. Jos. Howe to Bishop Taché, *Report of 1874, cit.*, p. 31).

¹⁶A good many interpretations may be placed on those five words, which, at any rate, when placed side by side with the sentences just quoted, depict a thoroughly desolate state of mind.

¹⁷Better known in English as "Seven Oaks", the scene of the famous battle between the men of the Hudson's Bay Company and those of the North West Company, on June 19, 1816.

¹⁸Contrast with this: "He [Mr. Flett, the Hudson's Bay Co's official in charge of Stone Fort] arrived in the middle of the night, but could give no information except that Riel and his men were still in possession of the fort and busily employed in carting away their plunder from the H.B.C. stores" (Huyshe, *Op. cit.*, p. 191).

¹⁹"Mr. Marc Amable Girard was born at Varennes, P.Q., on the 25th April, 1822. He studied at the college of St. Hyacinthe, where he was a school fellow of Mgr. Taché, and took up afterwards the profession of a notary. Arrived in Manitoba in April,

nous voir; je suspendis le conseil un quart d'heure. Je fis entrer pendant ce temps ces messieurs qui prirent congé de nous après une dizaine de minutes passées avec nous. J'allai les reconduire jusqu'à la traverse de la Grande Rivière,²⁰ il faisait très noir, il commençait à pleuvoir un peu.²¹ Au bout d'un quart d'heure de distraction, j'étais au fort continuant le conseil; il était deux heures,²² je dis aux conseillers que notre devoir était de ne laisser la position que lorsque les troupes la prend-

1870; he was called to the first Executive Council with the position of Provincial Treasurer, in the following September; he was elected a member of the first Legislature in December, 1870. Appointed a senator in December, 1871, he left the cabinet in March, 1872. He was Premier and Provincial Secretary from July to December, 1874; was again member of the cabinet as Provincial Treasurer from 1879 to 1882" (Dom Benoit, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, note p. 122).

²⁰"Mr. Joseph Dubuc was born at Ste. Martine, P.Q., on the 26th December, 1840. Studied at the Sulpicians' College, Montreal, and was admitted to the bar of the Province of Quebec in September, 1869. He came to Manitoba in June, 1870, and continued in the new province to exercise his profession of a barrister. He was elected a member of the first Legislature of Manitoba, in December, 1870; became superintendent of the Catholic Schools in 1872, member of the Provincial Government with the portfolio of Attorney-General in July, 1874; Speaker of the Legislative Assembly and Crown Prosecutor from 1875 to 1878; member of the House of Commons of Canada in 1878; judge of the Queen's Bench in November 1879, and Chief Justice of the King's Bench in August 1903; member of the Council of the University of Manitoba since its foundation in 1877 and Vice-Chancellor since 1888" (Dom Benoit, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, note, p. 121). "Retired on full salary after 30 years judicial service, Nov., 1909" (*Canadian Who's Who*, 1910, p. 68). Died at Los Angeles, in California, 1914.

²¹Another local name for the Red River.

²²All authors agree on that feature of the weather in the night preceding the arrival of the troops. To the rain has been ascribed the fact that the Union Jack was not flying at Fort Garry when Colonel Wolseley marched in. "Capital has been made of the fact that the open fort was found without the British standard flowing over its walls. Yet it is locally well known that it had been taken down only the preceding night, and that its absence at the top of the Fort Garry's flagstaff in the forenoon of Aug. 24, 1870, was due solely to the downpour of rain, which continued to fall till the arrival of the troops" (Morse, *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 62). "An abundant rain fell during the night and the British flag was hauled down for that reason. I had seen it myself floating the preceding night" (Mgr Taché, *Report of 1874, cit.*, p. 46). There were, of course, those who would persist in seeing the fleur-de-lis and shamrock flag to the end. "Storm and rain began at 10 p.m. and lasted all night—news brought in by spies that the rebel flag still waved over Fort Garry" (Huyshe, *Op. cit.*, p. 195). Those who are inclined to accuse Riel of disloyalty might remember that it was he, in fact, who was the first man to raise the purely Union Jack over Fort Garry and the North West Territories of those days. Before his time the Hudson's Bay Company had a sort of emblem with the Union Jack in one corner and the letters H.B.C. on the field (and it still has it to this day), while in the emblem used by Dr. Schultz those letters were replaced by the word "Canada".

²³This is undoubtedly a copyist's error, and is meant for ten o'clock.

raient; il était important qu'aucun des hommes dans le fort ne devait sortir sans ordre, cette nuit-là plus qu'auparavant, que je craignais pourtant que nos ennemis de l'hiver dernier ne profitassent de l'approche des troupes pour tenter quelques assauts sur nous, qu'il ne fallait pas nous laisser massacrer par ces gens-là. Quant aux troupes elles-mêmes, je dis que je voulais reconnaître moi-même ce qu'elles feraient durant la nuit, qu'en conséquence deux choses étaient nécessaires: 1o. Que tout en continuant à débarrasser le fort des effets qui nous appartenaient, il fallait que les soldats et tout le monde soit sur un pied de surveillance très ponctuel; 2o. Que j'avais besoin de quatre hommes à cheval pour m'accompagner du côté du camp de Wolseley sur le côté ouest de la rivière Rouge,²⁴ et deux autres hommes à cheval pour accompagner M.

²⁴It is somewhat amusing to follow Riel's narrative of his reconnoitering expedition when one has been so accustomed to read in Huyshe and other contemporary writers that Riel was practically taken by surprise and was in the belief that the troops were still far away—if, indeed, according to one of them (MacBeth, *The Making of the Canadian West*, p. 85), they would arrive at all. "Among other things, he [Riel] said: 'We had a Council meeting last night [May 23] and were talking about the soldiers who are coming from Canada. Poor fellows! They will have a hard time of it. They will not reach here till the winter, and we were thinking of sending a party of men out to meet them with snowshoes.'" Which shows that the Métis leader possessed, at times, a good sense of humour. "The camp was pitched on the left bank, six miles by land from Fort Garry. . . . About 10 p.m. a violent gale of wind sprung up from the N.W. accompanied by torrents of rain, which continued without intermission all night, rendering the roads nearly impassable. . . . spies had been sent into the town of Winnipeg. . . . though vague rumors were afloat of the force being somewhere on the river, yet these were discredited by Riel. . . ." (Huyshe, *Op. cit.*, p. 191). "A strange ignorance, quite in keeping with the rest of the Red River Rebellion, seems to have existed among the members of the Provisional Government to the last moment with regard to the approach of the expedition" (Butler, *Op. cit.*, p. 192). The following is perhaps the best of all: "Officers and men were alike eager for a brush with the rebels, but it turned out that, a few days before, Riel, Lépine, and their entire force had deserted Fort Garry and fled as fugitives" (Hon. James Young, *Public men and public life in Canada*, 1912, Vol. II, p. 106). Here is another version: "With the same secrecy of movement that the commander of the troops [Wolseley] observed in his sortie upon the forces of Arabi Pasha, he was within rifle shot of Fort Garry ere any one in the murderer's lair knew of the approach" (Mercer Adam, *Sir John Macdonald*, p. 362). But what can one expect when one reads in such a reputed author as Mr. Beckles Willson about another feature of the Métis resistance? "The Governor had just set foot across the border when he was met by Riel and three or four thousand followers at a barrier built across the roadway. Two courses were open to him: to fight or retreat. As he had no desire to shed blood, he returned quietly across the border" (Beckles Willson, *Canada*, p. 295). Imagine William McDougall and a dozen followers fighting three or four thousand men! There was no Riel and no barrier where McDougall set foot, and only three men met him: "Janvier Ritchot, Benjamin Nault, and he who has the honor of addressing you" (Martin Jérôme, *Souvenirs d'autrefois*, p. 19). Yet, that is how history of the troubles of the Red River has been written and

O'Donaghue, qui se faisait un plaisir d'aller par le côté est de la rivière Rouge, pour voir s'il y avait quelques mouvements par là.

Nous partîmes sous une pluie battante venant du Nord; le temps était si noir que deux hommes à cheval, se donnant la main, s'entre-voyaient à peine. Nous étions armés de pied en cape; nous avançons avec la plus grande précaution, surtout quand nous avions à passer le pont de quelques coulées, car l'abondance de la pluie ayant fait monter les coulées,—appréhendant d'ailleurs que des partis n'y fussent en embuscade,—nous n'osions, au milieu de cette obscurité, nous hasarder à côté des ponts ni sur les ponts qui, sans encombres en allant, eussent pu être barricadés pour le retour; nous reconnaissons donc les lieux autant que possible. Enfin, nous aperçûmes les lueurs des feux; nous poussâmes assez loin pour distinguer les feux eux-mêmes, mais il était évident que nous approchions de la ligne des sentinelles et des avant-postes, et n'ayant aucune affaire de passer entre leurs mains, nous retournâmes. Nos chevaux paraissaient sur l'alerte, renâclant fort. Le mot d'ordre ayant ramené nos quatre gardes proches, deux chaque côté de moi, nous revînmes au fort en faisant toujours attention. Le Colonel Gay,²⁵ Baptiste Neault, Francis St-Luc et Pierre Champagne étaient les personnes qui m'accompagnaient.

read for half a century! Here is what Riel had to say about Wolseley's would-be surprise, in his address to the Bench before the death sentence was passed on him in 1885: "He [Wolseley] meant to come during the night to make a noise in Fort Garry, and to boast of it the next day. But Heaven was against him. It rained so much that he could not get there during the night. It was only the next day at 10 a.m. that he entered Fort Garry through one door as I was leaving through the other. I remained in view, I was small. I did not wish to stand in his way. But as I knew that he had good eyes, I said to myself: 'I will stay at a distance where I may be seen and if he wants to have me, he may come.' A general knows where his foe is, or rather he ought to know. I was at about 300 yards ahead of him. While he was saying that Riel's bandits had fled, Riel was beside him" (*Epitomé des documents parlementaires à la Rébellion du Nord-Ouest*, Ottawa, 1886, pp. 222 et seq.).

²⁵Had we not Begg to tell us something—and very little at that—of this "colonel" we would be somewhat at a loss to say who and what he was. Even with the mention that Begg makes of him we admit that we are still rather in the dark. Let us see what he has to say about this "mysterious" person, as he calls him: "In the meantime [November, 1869] an interesting individual arrived in the Settlement, who is bound to figure rather conspicuously in the after events of this history. The following paragraph, which appeared in the *New Nation*, will throw some light on the subject:—'Arrival.—Capt. J. E. Gay, R.S.C., from Paris, France. The captain comes to this country simply as a sight-seer, and proposes visiting the various interesting localities in these parts.' Now the captain arrived in a mysterious sort of manner; his residence in the Settlement was of a mysterious character; and the mode of his departure from Red River was still more difficult to comprehend; but, as we will frequently have occasion to mention the gentleman hereafter, we will pass him over for the present,

Gay, qui avait pris à coeur nos intérêts, était inquiet et dégoisait contre les Anglais, de temps à autre. Champagne faisait une farce, les deux autres étaient très gais, St-Luc surtout; mais étions mouillés jusqu'aux os. Nous rentrâmes au fort vers une heure a.m. [Je] vis tout le monde, ceux qui travaillaient dans les hangars, ceux qui gardaient; les soldats [qui] veillaient à la caserne; et les représentants; O'Donaghue revint aussi n'ayant rien découvert. J'ôtai mon surtout imbibé et mes souliers, [je] me jetai deux grosses couvertes sur le dos, m'entortillai avec, [je] me mis au lit, je dormis trois-quarts d'heure environ. Mes principaux papiers étaient expédiés,²⁶ Louis Schmidt²⁷ travaillant à sauver ceux de son département. Quand je me levai, il commençait à faire clair. La pluie n'avait pas diminué. Vers huit heures on me servit un déjeuner de viande froide; j'avais faim, je mangeai bien, mais le froid et le manque de sommeil sans doute m'avaient trop indisposé;

merely stating that, on his arrival, he was immediately taken prisoner by order of Riel, who shortly afterwards, however, released him; and the gay captain, having obtained his liberty, succeeded in raising all sorts of conjectures, amongst the people, as to who he could be, and what was his errand at that particular time—some having it that he was a Canadian spy; others, that he was an emissary from Bishop Taché, and others, that he was a gentleman of means in search of adventure. All this, however, afterwards dwindled down to a report that he was merely a schoolmaster in search of something to turn up. What was he? Query?" (Begg, *Creation of Manitoba*, pp. 253 et seq.). "Captain Gay now began to take an active interest in affairs at the fort [about March 10, 1870], remaining most of his time within the walls. A good deal of speculation was, therefore, afloat regarding him and his errand to Red River" (*Ibid.*, p. 307). "Captain Gay now [May, 1870] had command of the men at Fort Garry, and frequently took them out for cavalry and artillery practice on the prairie. Of course the movements were primitive in their nature, and simply a burlesque on regular practice" (*Ibid.*, p. 377). And that is all. After reading at the beginning that the "gay captain" (who, as Riel will tell us, remained gay to the end as a colonel) "is bound to figure rather conspicuously in the after events of this history", and that "we will frequently have occasion to mention the gentleman hereafter", Mr. Begg might have told us a little more. According to the late Joseph Riel, Colonel Gay, in leaving Fort Garry, carried with him an offer from the Métis of a battalion for France, then entering war against Germany.

²⁶"He spent the night in gathering his secret papers which he sent away to a safe place; he attaches to them an importance that history will be able to unveil some day, we hope" (Sulte, quoted by Montpetit, *Louis Riel à la Rivière du Loup*, p. 60). What were those papers? They do not seem to have come to light yet. According to the late Joseph Riel, when he visited his unfortunate brother in the jail at Regina, in 1885, before his execution, the latter showed him a large box of papers which he said he would arrange to have shipped to him. The box and its contents seem to have come into the possession of the Rev. Fr. André, the condemned man's chaplain, who never sent them to the Riel family. One manuscript was sold to a Quebec lawyer for \$150, two-thirds of which were given to Louis Riel's widow.

²⁷Also assistant secretary of the Provisional Government.

je l'éprouvai peu après mon déjeuner. M. William Fraser,²⁸ un de nos représentants, vint au fort de bon matin,²⁹ je lui demandai s'il avait vu les troupes; il me dit que non. Alors je lui dis: "C'est surtout à présent que vous allez être à même de connaître mes intentions," mais il ne parut tenir aucun compte de mes paroles. . . .

(Signé) LOUIS RIEL

[Translation.]

Before the arrival of the troops, on August 24, 1870, O'Donoghue, with the majority of the French representatives, and O'Lone and Scott of Winnipeg, were invariably of the opinion that we should send to meet the troops, as far as the mouth of Lake Winnipeg, two men charged with asking them if they were bearers of the amnesty, if not, to intimate to them not to advance. From August 17 to the night of the 23rd, I had to fight against this determination, refusing to sanction it, and preventing its being followed in spite of all.

Auguste Harrison, representative of the Pointe des Chênes, stood by me in the most decided manner. I had another thought: that of gathering into Fort Garry all the Métis who had approved of the Provisional Government; placing them on the south shore of the Assiniboine and the west shore of the Red River, ready to salute the troops with a bonfire, while I, with eighty or one hundred men of the guard, would be standing at the south gate of Fort Garry. Having sent men of mark in the

²⁸Begg (*Creation of Manitoba*, p. 248) gives the name of this person as John Fraser. "When the man Parisien killed Hugh Sutherland, Mr. Fraser from Kildonan went up at once to see Riel about what had happened, but it appears was not received cordially, being told that Parisien, as a prisoner escaping, had a right to fire upon his pursuers" (*Ibid.*, p. 285). Schofield (*Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 273) prints the name of the Kildonan representative as W. Fraser, but MacBeth (*Op. cit.*, p. 68) gives it as John Fraser.

²⁹"An hour or so before the arrival of the troops, a prominent Kildonian, whom I recognized, galloped quickly through the village and on to the fort, and then, after a brief halt, galloped back as if under the pressure of some excitement. His errand, I suppose, was to warn Riel that Wolseley had come, and to advise him and his confederates to make all possible haste in making sure his escape" (Young, *Manitoba memories*, p. 187). According to Bishop Taché, the man who warned Riel and his councillors was James G. Stewart. "James G. Stewart [called the colonel] is he who advised the members of the Provisional Government to leave Fort Garry" (*Report of 1874*, p. 46). The very man who was in charge of the keys of the fort, Paul Proulx, who died within the last few years, told us the story that on the day of the arrival of the troops a man on horseback came up to the door, got up two steps, and asked for the Union Jack to be hoisted, whereupon O'Donoghue, who was standing by, retorted: "Get off, or I will blow out your brains." With twenty men, Proulx crossed the river at about 12 o'clock. Riel had crossed early in the morning.

country to meet the commandant and tell him that the fort was unguarded and unoccupied so as to receive the Queen's representative, I would have waited, before withdrawing with the Métis, until the troops had taken possession of the fort: a small minority hesitated whether it should adopt the plan, but the others did not want it.

The result of the discussion of these different ideas was that, for lack of harmony, nothing was done, either one way or the other. Towards the beginning, I had said to Mr. John McTavish that I was expecting the troops about the 20th. I, therefore, had been on the watch for a long time, seldom going to bed before four o'clock in the morning, having guards every evening far away behind Winnipeg; fearing that the troops, whose bad intentions were known to me, would arrive during the night. I had detectives about Stone Fort, but, toward the end, I began to fear them. Those who were Americans, although interested to serve me well, had so intimately espoused O'Donoghue's cause, and those who were Maskegons or English, although undoubtedly devoted, had already warned me and proved to me that they would be greatly exposed, were their communications with the Métis known.

However, on the morning of the 23rd, I knew that the troops were near. Mgr Taché arrived: I went to see him with O'Donoghue, Dauphinais, Poitras, Schmidt; I did not want to speak to His Grace of anything political, but he hastened to tell me that he had all possible assurances, although none in writing. I said to him: "What comforts us is that you have done your utmost." Then I added before Joseph Royal: "If the people were not so young, Canada would not treat with us thus." His Grace said that the troops were still far away, and that they were harassed with the trip and were not to be feared, that their orders were precise: that General Lindsay had told him that this movement was nothing else than a movement of troops from one point to another. I would not even reply. Returning to the fort, I found another detective waiting for me to say that the troops would stop that night at "La Grenouillère". I urged our people to save as much as we could of what belonged to us in the fort; for two weeks past I had applied myself to this end, but O'Donoghue's idea of resisting the troops paralyzed my precautionary measures.

In the evening, I summoned the Council; Girard, Royal, Dubuc, came to see us; I deferred the council a quarter of an hour; during that time I made these gentlemen come in; they took their leave after about ten minutes spent with us; I went to see them to the traverse of the Grande Rivière. It was very dark; it was beginning to rain a little. At the end of a quarter of an hour of interruption, I was at the fort continuing the council. It was two o'clock. I said to the councillors

that our duty was not to leave the position until the troops took it; it was important that none of the men in the fort should go out without orders, that night more than ever; that I feared, however, that our enemies of the previous winter would avail themselves of the approach of the troops to attempt some assaults upon us, that we must not allow ourselves to be massacred by those people. As to the troops themselves, I said that I wanted to reconnoitre myself what they would do during the night, that, in consequence, two things were necessary: 1. That while continuing to rid the fort of the effects which belonged to us, it was necessary that the soldiers and all our people be very punctually on the watch. 2. That I required four horsemen to accompany me to Wolsley's camp by the west shore of the Red River, and two horsemen to accompany Mr. O'Donoghue, who was pleased to go by the east shore of the Red River, to see whether there were any movements in that direction. We left in a drenching rain coming from the north; the weather was so dark that two men on horseback, holding each the other's hand, hardly saw each other. We were armed from head to foot. We advanced with the greatest care, especially when we had to cross the bridge of some coulees, for the abundance of the rain having raised the coulees, and apprehending also that parties were there lying in ambush, we dared not, in the midst of this darkness, venture near the bridges nor on them, since they, unobstructed on the way out, might have been barricaded for the return; we would, therefore, reconnoitre the ground as much as possible. At last we sighted the glimmers of the fires; we pushed on far enough to distinguish the fires themselves, but it was evident that we were approaching the sentries' line and the outposts, and not caring to fall into their hands, we turned back. Our horses seemed to be on the alert, snorting considerably. The password having brought together the four guards, two on each side of me, we returned to the fort, always watching; Colonel Gay, Baptiste Nault, Francis St. Luc, and Pierre Champagne were the persons who accompanied me.

Gay, who had taken our interests to heart, was restless and would now and then break out against the English. Champagne played tricks; the other two were very gay, especially St. Luc; but were wet to the skin. We re-entered the fort at about 1 o'clock a.m. [I] saw everybody, those who were at work in the sheds, those who were on guard, the soldiers [who] were on watch at the barracks, and the representatives. O'Donoghue also returned, having discovered nothing. I took off my wet overcoat and my shoes, threw two heavy blankets on my back, wrapped myself up in them and went to bed; I slept for about three quarters of an hour. My chief papers had been sent away, Louis Schmidt working to save those of his department. When I got up, it was begin-

ning to dawn. The rain had not abated. About eight o'clock a breakfast of cold meats was served to me: I was hungry: I ate well, but the cold and the lack of sleep had undoubtedly indisposed me too much: I felt it soon after my breakfast. Mr. William Fraser, one of our representatives, came to the fort in the early morning; I asked him if he had seen the troops: he said he had not. I then said to him: "Now you are going to know my intentions": but he did not appear to take my words into any account. . . .

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Cambridge History of Foreign Policy. Edited by SIR A. W. WARD and G. P. GOOCH. Three volumes. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1922-1923. Pp. viii, 628; vi, 688; vii, 664. (£4, 13s.)

THE first volume of this history has already been noticed in the issue of the REVIEW for December, 1922, at page 315. Now we have the completed work in three volumes. I confess that I am in some difficulty in dealing with the work as a whole for this review, for I have been asked to indicate chiefly "what importance the volumes have for the student of the history of Canada and the other British Dominions." Now if I were asked to take this request literally, I fear I should find little indeed to say about the book. Of course, matters affecting the Dominions, such as the various points of difference between Canada and the United States which have from time to time had to be considered by British statesmen, the South African war, or the German and French claims in the Pacific, are dealt with cursorily in their place, but always rather as British problems than as problems affecting the whole Empire. Indeed, it is quite remarkable how little attention is paid in this work dealing with British foreign policy from 1783 to 1919 to the increasing importance of the Dominions in this field. It is true, Mr. Gooch in his most lucid and interesting survey of British foreign policy from 1902 to the present day, which concludes the purely narrative portion of the work, touches on the difficulties with Germany and Belgium in regard to the most-favoured nation clauses of commercial treaties, as a consequence of the preference offered to the mother-country by Canada (vol. III, p. 301); and he just mentions (*ib.*, p. 526) that the Dominions were represented at the Versailles conference: but he hardly seems to realize the implications of these facts.

In reality, no development in the history of British foreign policy during the last half-century is more interesting or more worth dwelling upon than the gradual intrusion of the Dominions into foreign affairs, and the problems which this intrusion has created, not only for England, but also for foreign nations. The process is as yet by no means at an end, nor can the story be completed: but that is true of almost every

phase of foreign policy. What we certainly should have looked for in such a work is at least one chapter dealing with the gradual stages by which the Dominions, led by Canada, began by obtaining unofficial representation of their views in all negotiations in which they were particularly interested. This stage began even before Confederation, when John A. Macdonald was sent to Washington to help the British ambassador in a negotiation. Then came the stage when commercial treaties were explicitly stated not to be binding on the Dominions unless they agreed to them, another when the Dominions were allowed to denounce such treaties for themselves. But the most striking developments occurred during and after the late war, by means of representation of the Dominion governments in the Imperial War Cabinet and by the separate signature and ratification of treaties by the Dominions. But it is obviously not the place in these columns to develop this very interesting subject and to trace the profound modifications this process has caused in British diplomacy and in the international status of the Empire and of its component parts.

But though Canadian readers will not find in these volumes so much of what is pertinent to their own history as they might have been justified in expecting, yet this does not mean to say that the volumes are are not of profound interest to any Canadians who take a serious view of their new or greatly increased international responsibilities. Here, at any rate, they will find in detail accounts of the great questions which have agitated Europe and the world during the last century and a half—many of which are still agitating them—and appreciations of the manner in which British statesmen have solved the difficulties. They will find here judgments by scholarly and fair-minded men which, on the whole, give cause for national pride in the spirit of justice and honesty that has animated British statesmen. They will find explained the radical causes of problems—many of which still remain to be solved by Canadians, as well as by the statesmen of the mother-country—and they will find here examples of methods to imitate and faults to avoid in tackling them.

It has already been remarked in the article alluded to above that an opportunity seems to have been missed to give a broad conspectus of the general tendency of British foreign policy. That has still to be written by some writer of the vision and clarity of a Sorel. But whoever does it will find invaluable help in this work. Here he will find most of the pertinent facts as well as guidance in the excellent bibliographies to the chief authorities for further details. In fact, like all these Cambridge historical enterprises, this work forms an admirable encyclopædia of the subject. It is not a book which many people would read

straight through: it is rather a book of reference for particular questions. I cannot claim to have read it exhaustively, so that it is with diffidence that I make comparative verdicts on some of the chapters. Among the less valuable chapters appear to be Professor Newton's on the United States of America (vol. II, chap. VI and XII): not that they are not replete with trustworthy statements, but that the encyclopædic method is here carried to such an excess that the chapters read rather as chronicles than as history with an idea. On the other hand, Professor Webster's chapters on the Vienna and Paris negotiations, on which he is the best English authority, are first-rate. They not only give the facts clearly, but they give a lucid idea of the policy of England as carried out in such masterful manner by that great diplomat Castlereagh. These chapters are also particularly interesting if read in connection with Mr. Gooch's fascinating account of the events that led up to the war of 1914 and of the way in which the diplomatists of Europe dealt with questions not entirely dissimilar from those which occupied the statesmen of a century before. If anything, Mr. Gooch errs on the side of undue brevity when he comes to the Versailles negotiations. We should have been glad had he out of his vast store of knowledge enlarged more on the actual course of the negotiations, as few other writers are capable of doing, if only to bring them to the scale adopted by Mr. Webster for the Vienna proceedings. For example, the specification of Wilson's Fourteen Points, omitted no doubt owing to the familiarity of most students with them, might well have been inserted for reference and for a full comprehension of the problems. Lastly, a word of appreciation should be given for the concluding chapter by Mr. Evelyn Cecil on the internal organization of the Foreign Office. It is illuminating and instructive, giving much information difficult to pick up elsewhere.

BASIL WILLIAMS

Government of the West Indies. By HUME WRONG. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1923. Pp. 190. (\$3.00.)

The Colonial Agents of the British West Indies. By LILLIAN M. PENSON. London: The University of London Press. 1924. Pp. xii, 318. (10s.6d.)

STEEPED though they are in historic memories, the West Indies have of recent years attracted mainly the attention of local historians; the publication of the studies of Mr. Wrong and of Miss Penson prove that a wider interest is now being aroused. Miss Penson's book is the more strictly historical, and is based upon considerable research among unpublished material, both public and private; but though he has used only printed sources, Mr. Wrong's book reveals a power of

analysis and an ability to write concisely and lucidly which make it for the student of political science really more important than Miss Penson's.

The Old Colonial System, which broke down both in the American colonies and in Canada, came to an end a little later in the West Indies from exactly opposite causes. In the American colonies and in Canada the local assemblies so successfully asserted their power that absolute or practical independence was the result. In the West Indies the political incapacity of small bodies of local slave-owners, an incapacity increased by the emancipation of the slaves and subsequent economic difficulties, led to the decay of the assemblies and to the introduction in most of the islands of a form of crown colony government, with the assistance of a council in which such elected members as remained were more or less swamped by appointed or official members. The result seems to have been a great increase in simplicity and efficiency, although in some of the islands, especially Barbados, the old system still endures. Many varieties of representative institutions have been tried in one or other of the islands, but their small size and their heterogeneous populations make them rather a political museum than a political laboratory. Nevertheless, a study of Mr. Wrong's book by whatever official now poses as "Mr. Mother Country" at the Colonial Office might not be without value in dealing with the present squabbles in Jamaica.

The constitutional history of the French West Indies has gone along very different lines from that of the British islands. In the democratic ardour of the French Revolution they were given representation at Paris, which still continues. One hears in France complaints, possibly unfounded, that as a result Martinique and Guadeloupe are slipping back into barbarism, and much praise of the British government for its superior wisdom. An investigation of this very interesting study in comparative institutions would furnish Mr. Wrong with material for a book or at least an article.

The publication of Miss Penson's book has been assisted by the Publications Loan Fund of the University of London, and the publication of Mr. Wrong's book by the Rhodes Trustees—a form of endowment of research which cannot be too highly commended.

W. L. GRANT

Relations des voyageurs français en Nouvelle France au xviie siècle.

Par SÉRAPHIN MARION. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France. 1923. Pp. vii, 276.

THIS is a survey of the various accounts of life and travels in New France written by French men and women in the seventeenth century.

It begins with an introductory chapter on Jacques Cartier and Roberval, and then goes on to a classified summary of the writers from Champlain to the end of the century,—the founders of New France, the Recollets, the Jesuits, various civil officers of New France, nuns, Sulpicians, explorers, and finally soldiers. No classification could, of course, be completely satisfactory for men who played several rôles in the early history of new France—for Champlain, at once an explorer and a founder, for Marquette, explorer and Jesuit,—but a word of explanation and a few cross-references might have been added to avoid any misunderstanding on this point.

There is no attempt to present new facts about these writers or their *Relations*. The author is concerned, he tells us, "to make known, esteemed and loved in old France the beauty of its first colony, New France." With this object in view he gives a brief summary of the work of each writer, adding some biographical details and other comment. The chapter on the *Jesuit Relations*, for example, after a brief discussion of the value of the *Relations*, says something of the mission work revealed in them, shows how they illustrate the early history of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, and then summarizes the work of the order in the various fields served by them,—the whole in about fifteen pages. Thus the book serves as an introduction to the French narrative sources of information about New France in the seventeenth century.

It is hardly a complete guide to these sources. Lescarbot, for example, gets a page and a quarter, with no mention of the latest and enlarged edition of his work nor any reference to the Champlain Society's edition. For Cartier's later voyages the author does not go behind the French translation of Hakluyt. He says nothing of Le Clercq's *Premier Etablissement de la foi dans la Nouvelle France*, save to mention its title, and he omits Hennepin and others from his list of explorers of the Mississippi. There is no index.

The main defect of the book is of another kind. The work bears the imprint of a university press. It is difficult to understand how such a press, and an author who has made a special study of the subject, could have allowed a book to appear printed in so careless a manner. It is full of misprints from beginning to end; not even the table of contents is free from them. Some of these are corrected by hand, but a great many remain: Soutel for Joutel (pp. 180, 190), Marquette for Marquette (table of contents), Allinois for Illinois (p. 218), Solliet for Jolliet (p. 72), Maragy for Margry (p. 147), Naudreuil for Vaudreuil (p. 92), and the like. References are usually, but not always, correctly given. For example, Mr. Biggar's *The Early Trading Companies of*

New France is referred to (p. 23, note) as *The Early Trading Co.*, and (p. 39, note) as *The Early Trading Company of New France*.

Errors of this kind may not be fatal to the value of a book which obviously has implied a good deal of labour, but they impair its worth both for students and for general readers.

R. FLENLEY

Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Province de Québec pour 1922-1923. Par PIERRE-GEORGES ROY. Québec: Imprimeur de Sa Majesté le Roi. 1923. Pp. xv, 467.

THERE is scarcely a provincial or state government on this continent whose archivist is able to publish an annual report in a form more creditable than the one that comes from Quebec for the year 1922-1923. Obviously the provincial legislature of Quebec has been generous in its appropriation for this purpose; and the king's printer has not been behindhand in carefulness and accuracy. The result is a volume on good book paper, with printing that,—it is no exaggeration to say,—is beautifully done. History students using the *Report* will feel like offering their tribute of approval to a provincial government which, in defiance of the standardized cheapness of government printing offices, sends out its historical records in this attractive form.

The contents of the volume are too miscellaneous in character for a general analysis or description. They comprise an aggregate of one hundred and sixty-seven papers; some very brief, others running to ten pages and more in length. Chronologically, they extend from 1655 to 1763, though one title belongs to the days after the Treaty of Paris and bears the date 1764. The majority are illustrative of the old French régime, consisting in part of letters and *mémoires* too varied to be classified. In part, also, they consist of trade and navigation statistics,—especially of the Labrador fisheries,—of *congés de traite* and *engagements*; also of *procès-verbaux*, *protestations*, *requêtes*, and other documents bearing upon administrative and legal procedure. A wider interest attaches to the papers relating to the Seven Years' War. Fourteen of these are here inserted as facsimile reproductions,—notably the articles of capitulation of Quebec signed by Townshend, Saunders, and Ramezay, and the articles of capitulation granted to Washington by Villiers at Fort Necessity in 1754. The remarkable cases of Robert Stobo and Jacob Wambram, captains in the Virginia militia, accepted by Villiers as British hostages after Washington's surrender of Fort Necessity, together with their trial for high treason as hostages under the charge of furnishing information to their own side, form the substance

of twenty-seven documents. A long editorial note gives the Stobo and Wambram papers their proper historical setting.

The *Report* would be comparatively useless without the table of contents and the index which Mr. Roy has supplied. The table of contents follows in the main a chronological order, and gives in addition to the title of each piece its date and the subject upon which it bears. The index is invaluable for the purposes to which the *Report* will be put, and includes all the principal terms found in the papers as well as the names of persons and places. One suggestion, if followed, would improve a similar index in next year's report:—the simple device of distinguishing page references to text from page references to annotations. To choose one example from many that raise false hopes in the reader's mind:—the name of General Wolfe appears with two references; these, being traced out, are discovered to refer not to any of the documents but merely to the archivist's own editorial notes.

C. E. FRYER

Mélanges historiques; Etudes éparses et inédites. Par BENJAMIN SULTE.

Compilées, annotées, et publiées par GERARD MALCHELOSSE.
Volume XII. Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1924. Pp. 102.

THE recent and lamented death of Dr. Benjamin Sulte has not interrupted the publication by Mr. Gérard Malchelosse of the definitive edition of his *Mélanges historiques*. The twelfth volume of the *Mélanges*, which has just come from the press, hardly contains, however, material as interesting as much that has appeared in the preceding volumes. The greater part of the volume is occupied with a biography of a French-Canadian athlete named Joseph Montferrand, who was born in Montreal in 1802, the son of a *voyageur* in the service of the North West Company, and became a famous pugilist. The remainder of the volume is taken up with an essay on the history of the game of chequers, in which much curious learning is embodied. It would appear from an appendix by Mr. Malchelosse that the game of chequers was played in Canada as early as 1779. There is no evidence that the game was played in Canada under the French régime, but Mr. Malchelosse thinks this not impossible, since in 1665-66 we know that one of the best chequer players in France, the Chevalier Alexandre de Chaumont, spent the winter in Canada. Both these papers have been brought up to date by Mr. Malchelosse, and errors existing in them in their original form have been corrected.

New England Diaries, 1602-1800: A Descriptive Catalogue of Diaries, Orderly Books and Sea Journals. Compiled by HARRIETTE MERRI-

FIELD FORBES. Topsfield, Mass.: Privately printed at the Perkins Press. 1923. Pp. viii, 439. (\$6.00.)

THIS book is a calendar of some fifteen hundred diaries, listed in alphabetical order, each with a brief account of the author, and a concise description of the manuscript. The task of compiling it, which must have required great enthusiasm and persistence, has been honestly performed. Only a few inaccuracies can be discovered, such as the numbering of the Haldimand Papers (p. 133), and the inadequate references to the Public Record Office, London, England (p. 115 and p. 136). The arrangement of the diaries is simple, and the index serves as a subject catalogue. It is unfortunate that the index does not include the names of all the diarists, for the sake of speedy reference, since this is the usual method of approach to such a collection. The larger subject headings, such as "French and Indian Wars", "Indians", "Journeys", "Louisbourg", "Loyalists", "Revolution", should be of service to investigators.

The author has added nothing to the careful arrangement of her material. The descriptive paragraphs are all of equal length: only previous knowledge enables the reader to select the more important documents. If the compiler has no general reflections to make upon the material here gathered together, there is still less for the reader to say. The diaries are those of New Englanders, at home and abroad, and of foreigners residing in New England. Many of them undoubtedly contain information which would be useful to Canadian historians—"Ira Allen", "Druillettes", "John Lees", "Hugh Finlay (of England)", tempt one into the by-paths, and there are other diaries of which the general importance is obvious. Many of them are military,—no doubt because the militia soldier felt that his daily life in active service was of interest to the public, and because the footnotes of earlier historians—who have emphasized the wars of this period—have been used by the compiler as sources for her own lists. It is a surprising discovery that, with a few notable exceptions, the more important manuscripts have been published. The agencies of publication are various,—state, county, and town historical associations, universities, families of diarists, and private persons with public purses. Many of the original publications are not now on the market. A few glances into this book furnish additional evidence of the virile interest which Americans have shown in their own historical records, and the vast amount of honest, but uncoördinated work which has been spent upon them.

The author has been obliged by considerations of space to interpret strictly the term "diaries", but this narrows greatly the value of her book as a work of reference. Of what real value are the Haldimand

Diaries in comparison with the Haldimand Papers, or Washington's journal of a trip to New England in 1789, in comparison with his letters about public questions? The "diary" is only an artificial classification of written records,—its value to the general public is usually given by its relationship to other historical evidence. The dedication of this collection "to the men and women who laid the foundations of New England in honesty, simplicity, and the fear of God" shows that the interest of the compiler was largely biographical,—an interest which is apt to be shared by a comparatively narrow circle. If the work had been undertaken on a larger scale, this book might have become a more useful index to all historical documents of the period other than official records.

MARJORIE REID

The American Revolution: A Constitutional Interpretation. By C. H. MCLWAIN. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1923. Pp. xiii, 198.

PROFESSOR MCLWAIN has performed a service for which all students of politics will be grateful. In giving us a view of the American Revolution solely from the angle of constitutional law, he has attempted something which has long been overdue. Imperial interpretations, economic interpretations, community interpretations—all of cumulative value—have always seemed to us to lack fundamental and essential elements which Professor McIlwain's study undoubtedly supplies. There has been a current conception that legally and constitutionally England was right, but that its coercive actions after the Seven Years' War were psychologically and sociologically wrong. The vast quantity of the literature that has gathered round the Revolution has been coloured by that conception. Professor McIlwain, if he does not completely destroy it, has dealt it some severe body-blows—knocked it into its proper corner.

He traces carefully and with full documentation the inroads into the royal prerogative until they culminated after 1688 in a parliamentary monarch. In the process, the "plantations"—the feudal estate of the king—pass to the parliament of England; and the development is rounded off—in theory at least—with the new oath provided for the new monarchs in which they swear to govern "the Dominions" according to laws enacted at Westminster. In spite of the theory, Professor McIlwain is able to point out actual breaches in Ireland and in the Channel Islands during the eighteenth century which in turn lent force to the protests of such men as John Adams and James Wilson. In short, as he succinctly puts it, "two mutually incompatible interpre-

tations of the British constitution" had grown up: one held in the colonies, which professed their loyalty to the king and his prerogative and rejected categorically any constitutional power inhering in the British legislature to legislate for their internal affairs; the other held in England, which claimed as of constitutional right the sovereign power of comprehensive legislation for all lands under the British crown.

We have no hesitation in saying that Professor McIlwain has made one of the most important recent contributions to the history of the American Revolution. He writes with care and judgment. His freedom from any appearance of dogmatism is witness to that historic detachment which refuses to close doors to future enquiry. He moves from point to point in reasoned statement and in suggestive interpretation, and no one can read his book without feeling how excellent a case the colonists had, and, in addition, how dangerous it is to allow theories to grow up which do not command conscious consent. Indeed, from this point of view, the book is invaluable for all serious students of the modern British Commonwealth. We have destroyed the old "imperial sovereignty"—or rather it has died beneath the trampling feet of new, young, virile nations: we must be careful that the "equality of nationhood" with which it has been replaced is not allowed to develop into a meaningless formula.

There are some points which appear to need consideration. We should not like to say that the Act of 1649 establishing the Commonwealth was the beginning of legislation for "the plantations" by the English parliament, and that previous enactments for overseas realms were confined to enforcing pre-existing law. We should like Professor McIlwain to interpret some Tudor statutes which appear to contradict this position, and that quite apart from the Act of Supremacy, which in strict law and according to Elizabeth applied to the crown alone. Indeed, Mary's parliament claimed to represent not only England but "the dominions of the same". Nor does Professor McIlwain recognize the implications of the Irish Declaratory Act of 1719. In apparently sympathizing with the Irish claim to legislative freedom, he must see that the fact that the decision between "declaratory and introductory legislation" lay with the British legislature robbed the Irish position of any practical worth. Indeed, in the preliminaries to Grattan's parliament, the revocation of the Act of 1719 was significantly supplemented by a wholesale statutory declaration that the Irish parliament alone could bind the Irish people. Finally, although the book is short, there is no excuse for publishing it without an index.

We heartily recommend Professor McIlwain's work to every historical student. It is challenging to the looseness of past generalizations

which cavalierly dismissed colonial constitutional claims as "absurd", while conceding much to social, political, and economic developments. It is also an admirable chapter in the history of the problem of sovereignty to which Professor McIlwain made such a brilliant contribution in his *High Court of Parliament*. Finally, it is for citizens of the British Commonwealth a sober call to facts, to realism, to pragmatism at a time when vague phrases are beginning to do duty for serious political thinking.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century. By HERBERT L. OSGOOD. Two volumes. New York: Columbia University Press. 1924. Pp. xxxii, 552; xxiv, 554. (\$5.50 per volume.)

Herbert Levi Osgood: An American Scholar. By DIXON RYAN FOX. New York: Columbia University Press. 1924. Pp. 167. (\$1.50.)

Revolutionary New England, 1691-1776. By JAMES T. ADAMS. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press. 1924. Pp. xiv, 469. (\$5.00.)

HISTORICAL scholarship suffered a severe loss in the death of Professor Herbert Levi Osgood of Columbia University. Professor Osgood planned as his life's work a study, entirely objective and scientific, of the political origins of the United States. For years he devoted himself to this purpose with a tenacity and devotion which could only be called phenomenal. Nor did the wearying work of research turn him into a mere archivist or annalist. In mastering detail and in arriving at generalizations, he developed an historical judgment of a mature and sober order. When his three volumes on the American colonies in the seventeenth century appeared (1904-1907), he at once took a secure place among historians for a work recognized then and since as authoritative and definitive. Not satisfied with his achievement—he was then past middle-age—he began the continuation of his researches to the eve of the American Revolution, and death called him only when he had practically completed four new volumes. Professor D. R. Fox has prepared these for the press, and two have already been published. It is significant of Osgood's outstanding achievement that the sincere admiration for his personality and scholarship which is so unequivocally expressed in the memorial essay, *Herbert Levi Osgood*, should not offend in its tone or irritate with its praise. Osgood was not only a great historian, but he was something else: he was the source of inspiration to others; and he has left to Columbia University a great and enviable tradition.

The two new volumes follow the methods which distinguish Osgood's previous work. The research is almost uncanny in its comprehension.

Note upon note bears witness to a conception of history which having "mastered learning's crabbed text" prepared for "the comment". For Osgood was in no sense of the word a chronicler. He indeed believed, as of faith, that history was neither literature nor philosophy, that it made unequivocal demands in solid scholarship, in manuscript research, in diplomatic, and he gave himself to these demands in entire surrender. He knew, however, that they were means to ends—necessary and essential for any one professing and calling himself an historian—and all his work shows a sense of narrative and a persistent purpose to use his training in getting behind events to the complex causes out of which they grew.

Within the scope of a review, it is impossible to point out adequately the entire ambit of the field surveyed. The reader will best be guided by saying that Osgood has attempted to view the colonies in the eighteenth century chronologically and as a whole—their domestic development, their interrelations, and their connection with the mother country. He has laid emphasis throughout on the growth of political individuality in each colony. Then to such general fields as colonial wars, immigration, Indian affairs, common treatment has been given, while the relation with Great Britain colours everywhere the narrative. On the other hand, the impression must not be left that Osgood's work is broken by sectional treatment, and is merely a series of colonial histories bound together. As he says, he has conceived each colony as a personality; but knowing full well that a personality exists in community he has worked the history in such a way as to make it that of a "group of companions", with justice done "to the characteristics and ambitions of every member of the group". On the whole, he has been successful. In places the narrative halts, and here and there the canvas is somewhat crowded. But these are small faults, and no serious student who would gain an understanding of the origins of the United States and of the failure of the first British experiment in empire can afford to neglect these monumental volumes. When the two final volumes are published—and we hope that Professor Fox will find time to provide not only a full general index, but a geographical index and an index of proper names—we shall possess such a history of a nation's origins as few modern states can boast. We can only regret that a great pen has been laid down for ever.

Of a quite different type is Mr. Adams's *Revolutionary New England*. Covering the same period as Osgood, he attempts to give a general view to which the more detailed studies of Osgood and his school have made such notable special contributions. Of course, a comprehensive survey of New England would be impossible without being hopelessly

out of focus, as the varieties in development were many; and Mr. Adams's work makes no claim to be a substitute for the idiosyncratic history of each colony. On the other hand, he has succeeded in doing an excellent thing. Not only does he give us an interpretative picture of the common social, economic, cultural, and political features in New England's life, but he enables us to form such a clear-cut conception of them as to bring into relief the pronounced divergencies in development from the mother country. In addition, he shows us the growth of distinct fissiparous groupings within New England itself. His picture of frontier life will be a rude shock to those who have idealized the early days of colonial progress. It is perhaps overdrawn; but no one at all acquainted with the social history of the period can doubt its general truth. Be that as it may, there certainly developed irritation, if not something graver, between this undisciplined element and the more sober and cultured groups in the older settlements. It may interest Canadians to work out the effects of this domestic cleavage on those whose conservatism held them to constitutional ways during the Revolution.

When Mr. Adams leaves social and economic history he is not such a trustworthy guide. We cannot at all follow him in his constitutional interpretation, especially in the light of Professor McIlwain's new book. It is idle to dismiss the legal issue as "constitutional quibblings", and we reject categorically the doubts cast on the seriousness of purpose of such men as John Adams. Mr. Adams does not indeed write with passion or venom—he is singularly aloof in his attitude; but he leaves the impression that he has not orientated himself as happily in the later as in the earlier history. With this *caveat*, his work will provide an admirable and highly interesting companion to Osgood's volumes.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

Notes pour servir à l'histoire de la médecine dans le Bas-Canada, depuis la fondation de Québec jusqu'au commencement du xix^e siècle. Par les docteurs M.-J. et GEORGES AHERN. Québec. 1923. Pp. 563.

IN 1894 Dr. William Canniff, the historian of the early settlement of Upper Canada, published a volume entitled *The Medical Profession in Upper Canada*, which contained biographical material regarding a large number of the early surgeons and physicians of the province. What Dr. Canniff did for Upper Canada the late Dr. Michael Joseph Ahern and his son Dr. George Ahern have done in the volume under review for Lower Canada. Much of the material contained in the book was published originally by Dr. M. J. Ahern in the *Bulletin Médical de Québec*, but the publication of these materials was interrupted by the

death of the author in 1914, and the work has been continued by his son. It must be said at once that the book, of which only one hundred copies have been printed, is a contribution of the greatest value to Canadian biographical literature. The authors have consulted not only printed sources, but various collections of manuscript sources as well. In many cases the information they have been able to find has been of a very limited character, but their notes are fully documented, and are, so far as we have been able to test them, accurate.

It will not be expected that the list of names contained in the book is exhaustive. One rather remarkable omission we note, that of the name of Dr. C. H. O. Coté, one of the leaders of the rebellion of 1837. Dr. Coté had a most interesting and unusual career, for, after having escaped from Canada at the end of 1837, he went to the United States and became there a Baptist minister. Under the amnesty he returned to Canada, and he was one of the pioneers of the Baptist missions among the Roman Catholics of the province of Quebec. His *Memoirs* were published in Philadelphia by the Rev. N. Cyr in 1854.

No one, however, who has been confronted with the difficulty of obtaining accurate and detailed information with regard to many of the secondary figures in Canadian history, to say nothing of the rank and file, will fail to entertain toward Dr. George Ahern and his father real gratitude for the information contained in these notes.

Ontario Historical Society: Papers and Records. Volume xxi. Toronto: Published by the Society. 1924. Pp. 261; illustrations. (\$1.00.)

THIS volume of the Ontario Historical Society's *Papers and Records* is one of the most interesting that the Society has yet published. The most considerable paper in the volume is that by Mr. Willis Chipman, entitled *Life and times of Major Samuel Holland, Surveyor-General from 1764 to 1801*. This paper, which covers eighty pages, and contains a number of illustrations, is the result of long and extensive researches among original materials. Samuel Holland fought in the Seven Years' War, and was with Wolfe at Quebec. He was, indeed, one of the few people near Wolfe when he fell. He spent the years 1764-75 surveying the eastern coast of British North America; he fought with the British forces in the War of the Revolution; and after the revolution he was engaged in surveying the new settlements in what was later Upper Canada. He it was, indeed, who mapped out a considerable part of Eastern Canada. Mr. Chipman's admirable account of his life, with its copious reproductions of original documents, is an excellent example of the sort of paper which local historical societies ought to publish.

Most of the nineteen other papers in the volume are of a much

brief length. Some of them, indeed, are so brief as to be mere notes. Mr. F. J. French writes on *Jeremiah French, United Empire Loyalist*, and Mr. Ernest Green on *Gilbert Tice, U.E.*; and the late Mr. Alexander Smith has a note on *Some Hessians of the United Empire Loyalist settlement at Marysburgh*. Mr. W. H. Breithaupt has a paper on *Dundas Street and other early Upper Canada roads*, and Mr. W. Harold Dalglish one on *The early surveys of the county of Middlesex*. Mr. Justice Riddell contributes to the volume four papers, entitled respectively *The first British courts in Canada*, *The criminal law in reference to marriage in Upper Canada*, *The Bidwell elections*, and *A forgotten Canadian poet (Bishop Mountain)*. Brigadier-general Cruikshank has a longish paper on *The contest for the command of Lake Ontario in 1814*, a valuable account of the *First session of the Executive Council of Upper Canada, 1792*, an address on the unveiling of a tablet to commemorate the first meeting of this Executive Council, and a reproduction of an extract from Patrick Campbell's *Travels in the interior inhabited parts of North America*, (Edinburgh, 1793), describing a journey from Montreal to Kingston in 1791. This last paper, together with a similar contribution by Mr. W. P. Mustard, embodying a synopsis of John C. Ogden's *Tour through Upper and Lower Canada* (Litchfield, 1799), is not without interest; but it may be doubted whether it is the part of wisdom for the Ontario Historical Society to reproduce materials already in print, when there is still so much documentary material of the greatest importance which has never yet been published.

A number of miscellaneous articles complete the list: Professor D. A. McArthur discusses *The teaching of Canadian history*; the late Mr. A. C. Osborne contributes a paper of a familiar type entitled *Pioneer sketches and family reminiscences*; Mr. Fred Landon writes on *The Work of the American Missionary Society among the negro refugees in Canada West, 1848-64*; and Professor Squair translates an article by the Abbé G. A. Desjordy de Cabanac on *The two Desjordy de Cabanac at Fort Frontenac*.

The present volume is well printed, and the illustrations are creditably reproduced. It would, however, be a great convenience to those who have to consult the publications of the Ontario Historical Society, if the Society would provide an index to its volumes. Where each volume contains so many brief papers and touches on so many subjects, an index is most necessary, and if arrangements could be made for "cumulating" every ten years the index of the annual volumes, the value of the Society's *Papers and Records* would be doubled thereby.

W. S. WALLACE

Timothy Eaton. By GEORGE G. NASMITH. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1923. Pp. xiii, 312.

THERE have been few Canadians who have achieved a greater success, from a commercial standpoint, than Timothy Eaton. His departmental store became in his life-time a national institution; his sales catalogues were found, and are still found, in the remotest parts of the country; and have, to a large extent, revolutionized methods of buying and selling among the Canadian people. A study of his life from the economic standpoint would have had great value, and the volume under review does throw some light on this aspect of his career. The book, however, is not intended, apparently, to be a scientific contribution to the history of Canadian trade. It is written rather with a view to eulogizing the qualities for which Timothy Eaton was noted, and unfortunately lapses occasionally into the sentimentalism sometimes found in obituary notices and official biographies. At the end of the volume are to be found extracts from the daily newspapers on the occasion of Timothy Eaton's death.

Travels through the Interior Parts of America. By THOMAS ANBUREY.

With a foreword by Major-General WILLIAM HARDING CARTER.

Two volumes. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company. 1923. Pp. xxx, 276; 322.

THIS is a very handsome reprint, in a limited edition, of a book which was first published in 1789. Thomas Anburey was a subaltern in the army of General Burgoyne, and in his book he described in a series of letters not only the details of Burgoyne's expedition, but also the experiences of the captured British Hessian soldiers during their march to Boston and thence to Charlottesville, Virginia, where they were held as prisoners of war until the close of hostilities. As a detailed account of a journey from Quebec and Montreal to Virginia, nearly a century and a half ago, the book has distinct value, and it is now so rare that few libraries can possess it. It is therefore a matter of congratulation that the Riverside Press of Messrs Houghton, Mifflin Company have reprinted the book in the present edition, issued at a price which brings it within the reach of small libraries and individual collectors.

It is sometimes difficult to believe that the prices asked nowadays for first and other rare editions of books which have been frequently reprinted, are not the result of a passing phase of custom. It seems absurd to pay many hundreds of dollars for the first edition of a book which can be procured in a much better modern edition for a few dollars. But where books have never been reprinted they will always command high and rapidly soaring prices. In the literature of Canadian history

there are many such books, and it would seem that ere long some enterprising publisher in Canada might find it worth his while to bring out, in a form similar to that of the volumes under review, some of the rarities among *Canadiana*. The volumes under review are issued with merely a brief explanatory foreword, but it is perhaps a question whether in similar reprints some annotations might not illumine the text.

Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl Bathurst, preserved at Cirencester Park. (Historical Manuscripts Commission, No. 76.) London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1923. Pp. xx, 788. (12s. 6d.)

It may be doubted whether students of Canadian history fully appreciate the mine of information awaiting their investigation in the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of Great Britain*. In these *Reports* are calendared, as a rule in a most elaborate manner, a great deal of out-of-the-way historical material, much of which still remains in private hands. A good example of the light which some of them throw on Canadian history is to be found in the *Report on the Bathurst Manuscripts at Cirencester Park*. Two of the Earls Bathurst occupied cabinet offices in England during the first half-century or more of British rule in Canada. The second Earl Bathurst was Lord Chancellor from 1770-1777 during the period of the passing of the Quebec Act and the outbreak of the American Revolution. The third Earl Bathurst was a member of the government for nearly forty years, with only slight interruptions, and from 1812 to 1828 he presided over the War Office, which at that time carried with it the administration of the colonies. Especially in the correspondence of this Lord Bathurst there is much that touches on Canada. There are letters from General Brock, Sir George Prévost, the Duke of Richmond, Sir John Sherbrooke and others, as well as a long series of most interesting letters from the Duke of Wellington, who expresses himself in his letters to Bathurst in a most unreserved manner. He describes Sir John Sherbrooke as "the most violent tempered person I ever met with, and there are no bounds to his folly when he is in a passion. He was my lieutenant-colonel for many years, and was afterwards with me in Portugal; and from what I know of him, I am astonished that he has given so much satisfaction, as I understand he has." Of Sherbrooke, the Duke of Richmond says that "he is very nervous, and will probably have a violent fit of coughing when you first see him. Let him quite alone, and in a few minutes you will find him composed, and his head quite right." With regard to Prévost, the Duke of Wellington writes:

It is very obvious to me that you must remove Sir G. Prévost. I see he has gone to war about trifles with the general officers I sent him, which are certainly

the best of their rank in the army; and his subsequent failure and distresses will be aggravated by these circumstances, and will probably, with the usual fairness of the public, be contributed to it.

It is interesting to learn that in 1827 the Duke of Gordon was offered and declined to accept the governorship of Canada, before the position of governor-general was offered to Sir James Kempt; and it is curious to observe that in 1819 the British government was still dallying with the idea of attaching hereditary titles to the right of sitting in the Legislative Council. These random notes extracted from the present *Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* will serve to illustrate the value and interest which many of the *Reports* have for the student of Canadian history. A graduate student at one of the Canadian universities might indeed be worse employed than in making a report and index of the materials relating to Canadian history contained in them.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended review later.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

[ANON.] *A basis for imperial foreign policy* (Round Table, March, 1924, pp. 272-292).
An attempt to find a basis for a permanent foreign policy for the British Empire.

[ANON.] *Afterthoughts on the Imperial Conference* (Round Table, March, 1924, pp. 225-241).

A summary of the results of the Imperial Conference of 1923, from an imperialist point of view.

ASTON, Sir GEORGE. *Empire defence* (Edinburgh Review, April, 1924, pp. 241-259).

"The object in writing these notes . . . has been to place on record the historical aspect of Empire Defence, in the immediate past, as a basis upon which to build principles that will be of service in the future."

BOOTHBY, Commander F. L. M. *Airships for the Empire* (United Empire, March, 1924, pp. 154-165).

A paper on the problem of aerial communications and aerial defence in the British Empire.

BRUCE, Rt. Hon. STANLEY M. *Imperial preference* (Nineteenth Century, February, 1924, pp. 157-168).

The arguments in favour of preferential trade within the Empire set forth by the prime minister of Australia.

CORNISH, VAUGHAN. *The geographical position of the British Empire* (Scottish Geographical Review, October, 1923, pp. 217-229).

An account of the strategic aspects of inter-imperial communications and of the distribution of population.

FORTESCUE, Hon. J. W. *The history of the British army*. Vol. XI: 1815-38. London: Macmillan and Co. 1923. Pp. xxii, 533.

To be reviewed later.

KEITH, A. B. *Notes on imperial constitutional law* (Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law, February, 1924, pp. 135-142).

Comment upon changes in imperial law arising from the Imperial Conference of 1923 and from recent decisions of the Privy Council.

KENNEDY, W. P. M. *The conception of the British Commonwealth* (Edinburgh Review, April, 1924, pp. 227-240).

A discussion of the philosophical theory underlying the British Empire of to-day.

NEWLANDS, His Honour H. W. *Appeals to the Privy Council* (The Canadian Bar Review, December, 1923, pp. 814-824).

An argument by the lieutenant-governor of Saskatchewan for continuing the appeal from dominion courts to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

- PENSON, LILLIAN M. *The colonial agents of the British West Indies: A study in colonial administration, mainly in the eighteenth century.* London: University of London Press. 1924. Pp. xii, 318. (10s. 6d.).

Reviewed on page 162.

- POTT, GLADYS. *Migration of women within the Empire* (United Empire, April, 1924, pp. 219-229).

A discussion of an important, and hitherto somewhat neglected, phase of intra-imperial migration.

- ROGERS, NORMAN MCLEOD. *The foundation of federal unity* (Dalhousie Review, April, 1924, pp. 77-85).

A plea for the cultivation of a national sentiment.

- SMITH, HERBERT A. *Diplomacy and international status* (Canadian Bar Review, April, 1924, pp. 231-242).

An analysis of the limitations which still remain upon Canada's power to make treaties with foreign nations.

- STOCK, LEO FRANCIS (ed.). *Proceedings and debates of the British parliaments respecting North America.* Volume I: 1542-1688. Washington, D.C.: The Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1924. Pp. xx, 515.

To be reviewed later.

- STUART, SIR CAMPBELL. *The Canadian History Society* (Empire Review, April, 1924, pp. 410-415).

An account of the formation of the new Canadian historical society in Great Britain.

- WARD, SIR A. W. and GOOCH, C. P. (ed.). *The Cambridge history of foreign policy.* In three volumes. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1922-1923. Pp. viii, 628; vi, 688; vii, 664. (£4, 13s.).

Reviewed on page 160.

- WHELFLEY, J. D. *British-American relations.* London: Grant Richards Limited. 1924. Pp. 327. (14s.).

To be reviewed later.

- WILLISON, SIR JOHN. *Partners in peace: The Dominion, the Empire, and the Republic: Addresses on imperial and international questions.* Toronto: Warwick Bros. and Rutter. 1923. Pp. 54.

Five addresses delivered by the author at various times and places during the last ten or more years.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

- DOUGLAS, R. *Histoire des noms de quelques cités canadiennes* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, janvier-février, 1924, pp. 33-41).

Notes on the origin of some place-names in Quebec, Ontario and Saskatchewan.

- HARVEY, D. C. *Thomas D'Arcy McGee: The prophet of Canadian nationality.* University of Manitoba. [1923.] Pp. 30.

A public lecture dealing with D'Arcy McGee's contribution to the growth of Canadian national feeling.

- SULTE, BENJAMIN. *Mélanges historiques: Etudes éparses et inédites.* Compilées annotées, et publiées par GÉRARD MALCHELOSSE. Volume 12. Montréal: G. Ducharme. 1924. Pp. 102.

Reviewed on page 166.

(2) New France

BOLTON, HERBERT E. *The location of La Salle's colony on the Gulf of Mexico* (South-western Historical Quarterly, January, 1924, pp. 171-189).

Reprinted from the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* of September, 1915.

CROUSE, NELLIS M. *Discoveries of the Jesuits in New York State* (Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association, January, 1924, pp. 48-70).

A valuable paper on the contribution to geographical knowledge made by the Jesuits of New France in the country south of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario.

KELLOGG, LOUISE PHELPS (ed.). *Journal of a voyage to North America, translated from the French of Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix*. With historical introductions, notes, and index. In two volumes. (Printed for the Caxton Club.) Chicago: R. R. Donnelley and Sons. 1923. Pp. xxviii, 362; 379.

A limited edition of the first complete English translation of Charlevoix since the original English edition of 1861.

MARION, SERAPHIN. *Relations des voyageurs français en Nouvelle France au xviii^e siècle*. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France. 1923. Pp. vii, 276.

Reviewed on page 163.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Les charges publiques électives sous le régime français* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, mars, 1924, p. 92).

A brief, but valuable note on the public offices which were elective in Montreal during the French régime.

PACIFIQUE, F. *La duchesse d'Aiguillon* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, janvier-février, 1924, pp. 1-22).

A biography of the founder of the Hôtel-Dieu du Précieux Sang, at Quebec.

Parkman centenary celebration at Montreal, 13th November, 1923. Montreal: Published by the Parkman Centenary Sub-Committee and McGill University. [1924.] Pp. 40.

A pamphlet containing appreciations of the work of Francis Parkman, delivered at the Parkman centenary celebration at Montreal in 1923, by Sir Arthur Currie, Mr. Jules Jusserand, Dr. Bliss Perry, Mr. Aegidius Fauteux, and Dr. Charles W. Colby.

PERRY, BLISS. *Some personal qualities of Francis Parkman* (Yale Review, April, 1924, pp. 443-448).

Comment upon the romantic qualities in Parkman's historical writings.

SAUTAI, MAURICE. *Montcalm at the battle of Carillon (Ticonderoga), July 8th, 1758*. Translated from the French by John S. Watts. Printed for the Fort Ticonderoga Museum. [1924.] Pp. 91.

A translation into English of an interesting and valuable paper on Montcalm's strategy and tactics at Ticonderoga, published in Paris in 1909 by a French army officer who was later killed in action at the outbreak of the Great War.

THOMPSON, JOSEPH J. *The Cahokia mission property* (Illinois Catholic Historical Review, January, 1924, pp. 99-135).

Original documents showing transactions connected with the property of the Quebec Seminary of Foreign Missions in the Illinois village of Cahokia.

(3) British North America before 1867

ADAMS, JAMES T. *Revolutionary New England, 1691-1776*. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press. 1924. Pp. xiv, 469. (\$5.00).

Reviewed on page 170.

ALVORO, CLARENCE WALWORTH. *The Shelburne manuscripts in America* (Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, February, 1924, pp. 77-80).

A brief, but valuable, account of the Shelburne papers which have recently been acquired by the William L. Clements Library at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

AUDET, F.-J. *Trois géographes canadiens* (Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Québec, mars-avril, 1924, pp. 85-98).

Biographical notes on Samuel Holland, John Collins, and Joseph Bouchette.

[HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.] *Report on the manuscripts of Earl Bathurst, preserved at Cirencester Park*. London: Published by his Majesty's Stationery Office. 1923. Pp. xx, 788. (12s. 6d.).

Reviewed on page 176.

Business "adventures" of bateau days (Burton Historical Collection Leaflets, published by the Detroit Public Library, vol. II, nos. 1-2, pp. 1-16).

Selections from the papers of John Askin (1739-1815), illustrating business conditions at Detroit during the British régime.

CATLIN, GEORGE B. *The Story of Detroit*. Detroit: The Detroit News. 1923. Pp. xi, 764.

To be reviewed later.

FOLWELL, WILLIAM WATTS. *A history of Minnesota*. In four volumes. Volume II. Saint Paul, Minnesota: published by the Minnesota Historical Society. 1924. Pp. xiii, 477.

To be reviewed later.

FORBES, MRS. HARRIETTE MERRIFIELD (comp.). *New England diaries, 1602-1800: A descriptive catalogue of diaries, orderly books, and sea journals*. Worcester, Mass.: Published by the author. 1924. Pp. viii, 439. (\$6.00).

An admirable guide to the original materials relating to New England existing in the form of private journals or diaries, whether in print or in manuscript. Some of the journals are of interest to students of Canadian history. Reviewed on page 166.

FOX, DIXON RYAN. *Herbert Levi Osgood: An American scholar*. New York: Columbia University Press. 1924. Pp. 167. (\$1.50.)

Reviewed on page 170.

HACKER, LOUISE MORTON. *Western land hunger and the War of 1812: A conjecture* (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, March, 1924, pp. 365-395).

A valuable contribution to the study of the causes of the war of 1812.

HASTE, RICHARD A. *Fifty-four, forty or fight* (Canadian Magazine, March, 1924, pp. 311-314).

"A national bluff that was called." The story of the settlement of the Pacific coast and the boundary controversy of 1846.

HAY, MAJOR M. V. *The missing Howe order books, 1776-1777* (Americana, April, 1924. Pp. 85-101).

A description, with extracts, of three unpublished order books of General Howe which have been found by the author in Aberdeen, Scotland.

The King's shipyard (Burton Historical Collection Leaflets, published by the Detroit Public Library, vol. II, no. 3, January, 1924, pp. 19-32).

Documents relating to the shipyard built at Detroit during the period of the British occupation.

MCILWAIN, C. H. *The American Revolution: A constitutional interpretation*. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1923. Pp. xiii, 198.

Reviewed on page 168.

OSGOOD, HERBERT L. *The American colonies in the eighteenth century*. Two volumes. New York: Columbia University Press. 1924. Pp. xxxii, 552; xxiv, 554. (\$5.50 per volume.)

Reviewed on page 170.

PRESTON, HOWARD W. *Rochambeau and the French troops in Providence in 1780-81-82* (Rhode Island Historical Society Collections, January, 1924, pp. 1-23).

An account, from original records, of the quartering of French troops on Rhode Island during the War of Independence.

QUAIFE, M. M. *The Royal Navy of the upper lakes* (Burton Historical Collection Leaflets, published by the Detroit Public Library, Vol. II, no. 5, May, 1924, pp. 49-64).

An account of British shipping on the upper lakes between 1760 and 1796.

[TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARY.] *The rebellion of 1837-38: A bibliography of the sources of information in the Public Reference Library of the City of Toronto*. Toronto: Public Library. 1924. Pp. 81.

Noticed on page 100.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

ARCHIBALD, EDITH J. *Life and letters of Sir Edward Mortimer Archibald, K.C.M.G., C.B.: A memoir of fifty years of Service*. With a foreword by the Rt. Hon. Sir ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN, G.C.M.G. Toronto: George N. Morang. 1924. Pp. xv, 266. (\$3.50.)

To be reviewed later.

[CANADA: BUREAU OF STATISTICS.] *The Canada year book, 1922-23*. Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1924. Pp. xxvii, 1038.

To be reviewed later.

CARLYLE, RANDOLPH. *Sir Henry Thornton, K.B.E.* (Canadian Magazine, April, 1924, pp. 404-406).

An account of the achievements of Sir Henry Thornton in the Pennsylvania Railroad and in the transportation services of Great Britain and the Allies during the recent war.

FLICK, LT.-COL. C. L., G.M.G., C.B.E. *A short history of the 31st British Columbia Horse*. Victoria, B.C.: J. Parker Buckle, The "Reliable Press". 1922. Pp. 40; illustrations.

An account of the history of a cavalry unit in the Canadian militia, formed in 1910, and the part played by its officers and men in the Great War.

KENNEDY, W. P. M. *The disallowance of provincial acts in the Dominion of Canada* (Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law, February, 1924, pp. 81-94).

A discussion of recent developments in regard to the Dominion power of disallowance.

MURDOCH, REV. B. J. *The red vineyard*. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press. 1923. Pp. 313.

An account of the personal experiences of a Roman Catholic chaplain who served with the overseas forces of Canada from 1916 to the end of the war.

NATHAN, M. *Dominion status in international law* (Transactions of the Grotius Society, vol. viii).

A discussion of international aspects of the treaty-making power.

WEST, W. REED. *Contemporary French opinion on the American Civil War*. (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science: Series XLII, no. 1.) Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press. Pp. viii, 159. (\$1.50.)

Contains a chapter on the Trent affair, and on several other episodes of interest to the Canadian historian.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland

MCGRATH, SIR PATRICK. *Newfoundland and the paper supply* (Dalhousie Review, January, 1924, pp. 483-491).

An account of recent industrial developments in Newfoundland.

(2) The Province of Quebec

AHERN, Docteurs M.-J. and GEORGE. *Notes pour servir à l'histoire de la médecine dans le Bas-Canada, depuis la fondation de Québec jusqu'au commencement du xix^e siècle*. Québec. 1923. Pp. 563.

Reviewed on page 172.

[ANON.] *Les commencements de l'institution des sourds-muets à Montréal* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, mars, 1924, pp. 70-79).

An account of the foundation of the deaf and dumb asylum at Montreal in 1852.

GASPÉ, JACQUES DE. *Famille Chouinard: Histoire et généalogie*. Avant-propos et préface par H.-J.-J.-B. CHOUINARD. Québec: Imprimerie Franciscaine missionnaire. 1921. Pp. xcvi, 336.

A study in the genealogy of a well-known French-Canadian family.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *La détention préventive à Montréal au xvii^e siècle* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, avril, 1924, pp. 106-107).

A note on the administration of justice in Montreal in 1679.

_____ *Le chapeau sous le régime français* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, mai, 1924, pp. 141-145).

A note on the headgear worn by the people of New France.

_____ *Les cérémonies de la mort au temps passé* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, mai, 1924, pp. 153-155).

A note on early French-Canadian funeral customs.

_____ *Le commandant de Belvèze aux Trois-Rivières en 1855* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, février, 1924, pp. 62-64).

A song composed in 1855 on the occasion of the visit of a French naval officer to Three Rivers.

ROY, PIERRE GEORGES. *Les monuments commémoratifs de la province de Québec*. Deux vols. Québec: Publié par la Commission des Monuments historiques de la Province de Québec. 1923. Pp. 356; 360.

Volumes containing photographic facsimiles of the commemorative monuments found in the open air in the province of Quebec, with historical notices regarding each monument. Commemorative monuments placed in the interiors of churches and public buildings are to be included in future volumes.

_____ *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1922-1923*. Québec: Ls.-A. Proulx, Imprimeur de Sa Majesté le Roi. 1923. Pp. xv, 467.

Reviewed on page 165.

_____ *La côte la Montagne, à Québec* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, mars, 1924, pp. 165-67).

A note on the origin of the name of "La côte la Montagne" in Quebec city.

ROY, P.-G. *La protection contre le feu à Québec sous le régime français* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, mai, 1924, pp. 129-140).

An account of the measures taken in Quebec during the French régime to fight fires.

— *Le premier automobile dans la province de Québec* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, mars, 1924, pp. 94-95).

A note on the introduction of motor-cars in the province of Quebec in 1897-8.

— *Les premiers hommes de guet à Québec* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, avril, 1924, pp. 97-101).

An account of the establishment of watchmen in Quebec in 1818.

WILLIAM WOOD. *Unique Quebec: a vade-mecum for visiting Fellows of the Royal Society of Canada and Members of the Canadian Historical Association*. Quebec: L'Evenement Press. 1924. Pp. 107.

"It is concerned with all those first, or last, or only things which have made Quebec unique."

(3) The Province of Ontario

[LENNOX AND ADDINGTON HISTORICAL SOCIETY.] *Papers and records*. Vol. XI: *The North American*. Napanee, Ont. Published by the Society. 1924. Pp. 50.

A selection of extracts reprinted from the *North American*, a newspaper published in the counties of Lennox and Addington between 1862 and 1864, a file of which has recently been presented to the Lennox and Addington Historical Society. The extracts have been compiled and edited by Mr. Walter S. Herrington.

[ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.] *Papers and records*. Vol. XXI. Toronto: published by the Society. 1924. Pp. 261; illustrations. (\$1.00.)

Reviewed on page 173.

PAGE, FRANK E. *The story of Smithville*. Welland, Canada: The Tribune-Telegraph Press. 1923. Pp. 90.

The history of a village in the Niagara peninsula, founded by United Empire Loyalists.

[WATERLOO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.] *Eleventh annual report*. Kitchener, Ont.: Published by the Society. 1923. Pp. 57.

Contains, beside the report of the annual meeting, the address of the president, Mr. W. H. Breithaupt, on "Early settlements in Upper Canada", a paper by Mr. William Herriot on "Aboriginal agriculture in south-west Ontario", an account by Miss L. M. Bruce of "War memorials in Waterloo county", and two genealogical studies entitled "Brubacher family history", by Mr. Benjamin Brubacher, and "Eby family", by Mr. A. A. Eby.

WRONG, GEORGE M. *Our legislative mills*. VIII. *A contrast: The single house legislature of Ontario* (National Municipal Review, March, 1924, pp. 169-172).

A brief study of unicameral government in Ontario.

(4) The Western Provinces

BATES, HENRY L., and others. *The occasion of the unveiling of the memorial stone on the grave of Peter Skene Ogden* (Quarterly of the Washington Historical Society, December, 1923, pp. 361-385).

An account of the proceedings at the unveiling of the memorial stone to Peter Skene Ogden, one of the pioneers of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Pacific slope, at Oregon City on October 28, 1923, including addresses by Messrs. F. V. Holman, T. C. Elliott, J. D. Clutwood, and H. G. Starkweather.

FULLERTON, AUBREY. *Forerunners of the west* (Canadian Magazine, May, 1924, pp. 49-53).

An account of the development of transportation in the western provinces before the coming of the railways.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

ALCOCK, FREDERICK J. *Across Gaspé* (Geographical Review, April, 1924, pp. 197-214).

An account of "a traverse across Gaspé" made by a member of the Geological Survey of Canada in the summer of 1923.

BURWASH, L. T. *Mining development in the Mackenzie District, 1922* (Canada: Department of the Interior; Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1923, pp. 19; map).

The results of an investigation into the mineral resources of the Mackenzie District.

[CANADIAN BANKERS' ASSOCIATION.] *The Bank Act: Its audit provisions and the suggested guarantee of deposits.* 1924. Pp. 28.

A pamphlet issued by the Canadian Bankers' Association arguing against proposed changes in the present Bank Act of Canada.

CRAIG, J. D. *Canada's Arctic islands: Log of Canadian expedition, 1922*; with an appendix, *Aviation in the Arctic*, by Major R. A. LOGAN. (Canada: Department of the Interior; Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1923, pp. 27, maps).

An account of the expedition which established police posts, post offices, and customs houses on Ellesmere Island and Baffin Island.

DOHERTY, F. K. *Wheat areas and production in Canada* (United Empire, March, 1924, pp. 147-152).

An examination of the present situation with regard to wheat production in Canada, by the commissioner of the International Institute of Agriculture at Ottawa.

DURAND, LOUIS D. *La perte du capital humain: L'émigration aux Etats-Unis* (L'Action Française, mars, 1924, pp. 130-140).

A brief study of French-Canadian emigration to the United States.

FLAVELLE, Sir JOSEPH, Bart. *The railway situation in Canada* (Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association, April, 1924, pp. 356-362).

A history of national railway enterprise and an estimate of the present financial position of the government-owned railways.

GROSVENOR, GILBERT (ed.). *Map of North America* (National Geographic Magazine, May, 1924, Special Supplement).

A detachable map of North America in six colours, size 38×28½ inches, incorporating the latest information from government surveys. The islands to the north of Canada are shown in more detail than on any other single map sheet.

HAMILTON, L. *Die Canadische Forstwirtschaft* (Zeitschrift für Geopolitik, März, 1924, pp. 148-153).

A brief account of Canada's forest wealth.

HANBURY-WILLIAMS, C. *Jasper National Park and the Triangle Tour* (Canadian Magazine, April, 1924, pp. 391-403).

A description, with illustrations, of a recent tour through the mountain and coast scenery of British Columbia.

KAWAKAMI, K. K. *Canada as a "white man's country"* (Current History, February, 1924, pp. 829-834).

An account, by the American correspondent of the Osaka *Mainichi* and the Tokio *Nichi-Nichi*, of the attempts by the Canadian government to restrict the immigration of orientals.

KITTO, F. H. *The survival of the American bison in Canada* (Geographical Journal, May, 1924, pp. 431-437).

An account of how the Canadian government has saved the American bison from extinction.

LOCHEAD, W. *Agricultural colleges and agricultural development in Canada* (United Empire, April, 1924, pp. 209-217).

A paper on agricultural education in Canada.

LONGSTRETH, T. MORRIS. *The Lake Superior country*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1924. Pp. xvi, 360; illustrations and maps.

To be reviewed later.

MACKINTOSH, MARGARET. *Government intervention in labour disputes in Canada* (Queen's Quarterly, January-March, 1924, pp. 298-328).

A paper on Canadian legislative and executive action in regard to labour disputes.

MCGILLICUDDY, OWEN E. *The paper and pulpwood situation* (North American Review, May, 1924. Pp. 616-620).

A statement by a Canadian expert that the newsprint industry of the United States is seriously threatened by the depletion of Canadian forests.

MORAN, J. F. *Local Conditions in the Mackenzie District, 1922* (Canada: Department of the Interior; Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, 1923, pp. 19; map).

A descriptive and statistical pamphlet about the Mackenzie District.

MORMAN, JAMES B. *Farm credits in the United States and Canada*. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1924. Pp. xv, 406.

To be reviewed later.

NASMITH, GEORGE G. *Timothy Eaton*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1923. Pp. xiii, 312.

Reviewed on page 175.

RIGASSI, GEORGES. *A travers le Canada*. Extrait de la "Gazette de Lausanne". Lausanne: Librairie Poyot & Cie. 1924. Pp. 106.

Impressions by a Swiss journalist of his trip across Canada by the Canadian Pacific Railway.

SHORTT, ADAM. *Founders of Canadian banking: the Hon. Peter McGill, banker, merchant and civic leader* (Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association, April, 1924, pp. 297-307).

An account of a former president of the Bank of Montreal who was connected from 1819 to 1860 with that institution and with many important public events.

SHORTT, ADAM. *Origin and results of Canada's preferential tariff* (Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1924, pp. 221-231).

An historical account of the Canadian tariff and its effect upon the commerce of the United States.

STOKES, CHARLES W. *Round about the Rockies*. Toronto: The Musson Book Company. [1923.] Pp. 96; illustrations. (\$1.00.)

"An everyday guide to the Rocky and Selkirk Mountains of Canada."

TESSIER-LAVIGNE, YVES. *La perte du capital humain: L'émigration vers les villes* (L'Action Française, février, 1924, pp. 66-86).

A brief study of rural depopulation in the province of Quebec.

- VINER, JACOB. *Canada's balance of international indebtedness, 1900-1913*. (Harvard Economic Studies, vol. XXVI.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1924. Pp. x, 318. (\$3.50.)

To be reviewed later.

V. EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY

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